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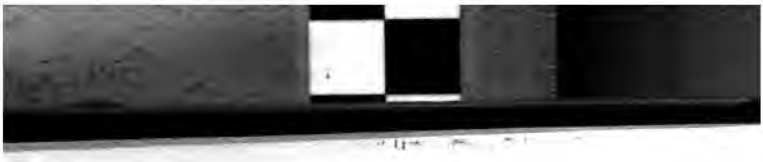

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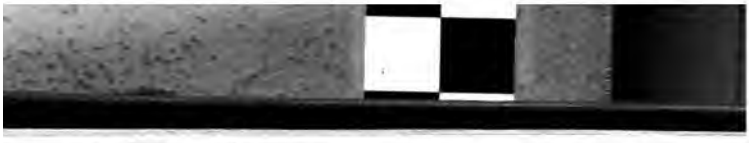

THE WORKS

OF THE

Right Rev. John England,

BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

WITH MEMOIR, MEMORIALS, NOTES AND FULL INDEX.

By HUGH P. McELRONE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

WORKS OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

INFALLIBILITY.

I.

Our first principle is, that man is not bound to believe any doctrine as of faith, unless that doctrine has been revealed by God. Thus, a Roman Catholic does not acknowledge any power or right in the Church, nor in any portion thereof, nor in any angel, nor in any being, except God Himself, to require his belief of a doctrine which is above his reason's discovery. When, then, he says that the Church is infallible in giving her doctrinal decisions, he does not mean to say that she can make that which God did not reveal become an article of faith. He does not mean that she can add to the revelations of God and will be infallibly correct in this addition.

But man is bound to believe what God teaches. Yet, as man is a reasonable being, and must have a sufficient motive for his assent or belief, he is not required to believe without evidence. Thus, for his faith, evidence is necessary, otherwise his belief would have no foundation upon which it could rest.

We next ask, what evidence is required? Certainly, if our reason could discover the truth of the doctrine submitted to our minds, it would be quite superfluous for God to teach what we could discover without His teaching.

Did we discover the truth of this doctrine, without the teaching of God, and solely by the exertion of our own intellect, our belief would be founded upon the evidence of reason, and further evidence would be superfluous. But, if we did not make the discovery by our own exertion—if no exertion of our minds could reach so far—and we received sufficient testimony of the truth from some persons who had seen and known and testified; and, moreover, this witness was as incapable of deceit as he was beyond its influence; this testimony would be, to us, sufficient evidence of the truth of this doctrine.

We would, then, require evidence that such a witness gave such testimony; and that evidence would be the sure foundation of our faith. Our belief would then be rational.

It will not be questioned that God is such a witness. It will be admitted that His knowledge is more extensive than ours; that His knowledge is not merely rational conjecture or high probability, but is undoubted, certain assurance of fact; and that it is unalterable; so that what He once asserts as truth will be truth—forever.

These principles are manifestly true. We come now to matter of fact and deduction. God did reveal His knowledge. They to whom He revealed it had evidence of the fact. They were bound. Why? Because they had an infallible certainty that the Lord spoke and an infallible certainty of what He said. Thus, the principle of obligation is founded in the infallible certainty of God's declaration.

From this we perceive the indissoluble connection of faith with an infallible certainty of truth. Take away the certainty, upon what will faith rest? Give the infallibility, and we see the basis of faith. Conjecture is not faith; probability is not faith; faith is certain knowledge resting upon the testimony of God. It must be founded upon an infallible certainty that God made a revelation, and upon an infallible certainty of what that revelation was. Suppose we ascertain that He spoke; and, moreover, that He *revealed the contents* of a certain book: but great doubts

arise as to the meaning of certain passages of that book, and learned men give to the same passage contradictory meanings; so that, of these words, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," one division asserts the meaning to be, that Christ would preserve the visible body of His Church, who were teachers of His doctrine, in His truth, all days, to the end of the world; and other divisions assert that such is not the meaning, but that, during ages in succession, long before the end of the world, this visible body would be false guides and teach the doctrines of Antichrist. Suppose an hundred such passages can be produced, upon which there are flat contradictions. Suppose the very copies were so called into question, that several passages of a most important nature are by learned men said to have been introduced in dark and superstitious times, by cunning priests, to impose upon the credulity of a besotted people, and to bring persons to believe that God had taught what He never had revealed. Suppose equally learned and equally numerous and zealous men assert these passages to be genuine. We are left without any infallible guide to give us certain evidence. Upon what will our faith rest? Thus I repeat there is an indissoluble connection between faith and infallibility.

This leads us to a correct view of what we hold, in the Roman Catholic Church, viz., that when God required man to believe mysteries upon His testimony, He furnished him with an infallible mode of knowing exactly what He taught and what man was to believe; in other words, that God gave to man evidence, as the foundation upon which his faith should rest. And if God did not furnish man with an infallible guide, it would be unreasonable to to make faith necessary for salvation. It would be as if God should say to man: "You must believe firmly all that I teach; but, although I can establish several modes by which you can know My doctrine with infallible certainty, still, I will not furnish you with an infallible

guide. I shall leave you to conjecture, to probability, to speculation, and to doubt."

Our doctrine, then, is, that God did establish this infallible guide; and that, in the new law, the great majority of the bishops who succeed to the apostolic commission, together with the Bishop of Rome, either in council assembled, or teaching in their sees, form this tribunal.

They have no authority to change what God has revealed; they have no authority to add to what God has revealed; but they will, in all cases of doubt, lead us with infallible certainty to a knowledge of what God has taught. Individuals amongst them may err, and have erred, but the great majority will infallibly guide us to truth.[1]

II.

I now proceed to show the grounds of my assertion, that the great majority of the bishops of the Church, together with the Bishop of Rome, form that tribunal which will, with infallible certainty, give to us those doctrines which are of faith.

I feel that it is unnecessary to prove that there can be no faith without having an infallible certainty of what God has revealed. We cannot have this certainty unless we can find a witness whose testimony of that revelation will be infallibly correct. Thus we are brought to the dilemma: There can be no faith or there must be an infallible witness of doctrine. Hence, we are reduced at once to total want of evidence of what God did say (for conjecture or opinion is not evidence); or, we must find an infallible witness. We must place upon the same level the Pagan, the Deist, the Socinian, the Arian, the Macedonian, the Mahometan, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, the Nestorian, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Methodist, the Anabaptist, the Baptist, the Sabbatarian, the Church-of-England-man, the Protestant Episcopalian, the Sub-Lapsaria

[1] Since Bishop England wrote this, the Vatican Council of 1870 has passed *decree of Papal Infallibility.* For a full explanation of its extent and limitation *see vol. ii of Newman's "Difficulties of Anglicans," p. 170 et seq.*

he Lutheran, the Swedenborgian, the Southcothonian, the haker, and the thousands of others whose names and ystems vary. Yet all profess to hold truth and all contradict each other; still, truth is single and not contradictory.

Has God revealed truth and commanded us to believe His Word, and yet placed it out of our power to know ith certainty what He said? This clearly must be the ase if we have no infallible witness to tell us what He aid. However, a thousand of those divisions will arise, nd with one accord say: "We have an infallible witness. od is good and wise and merciful. He has given us his witness; stand aside — move from amongst us, you agans, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, and Papists, you will ot receive this witness; it is the Bible."

Obedient to the mandate, I move aside with my companions. I ask not how they know that Book to contain he doctrine of God to man, because the experience of enturies gives me the plain certainty of what will occur. t an humble distance I listen. One of the persons who emained now calls upon his fellows to adore the Lord esus; another protests against such idolatry. The Book s produced; pages are read; each explains them in contradiction to the other. Their associates interpose to allay he ire of the disputants. One voice is heard, calling on hem to hear the opinion of an English bishop; another oice asks whether his ordination can be proved good; a hrill rebuke of tyranny is now issuing from another uarter; whilst another solemnly advises reference to a ynod of presbyters and elders. "Why not each congregaion decide for itself," cries another voice; "Scripture does ot warrant the subjection of the freedom of the Gospel o such a yoke." Before the lapse of an hour there will e as many contradictions as there are individuals. All ppeal to the Book; yet the Book is silent, but is made y each to speak in favor of his opinion.

The Deist calmly asks: "Is this the consistency of the Christian religion? Is this the manifestation of evident

truth? Is this the uncontradictory code to which I am sacrifice my reason?"

"Great Allah!" cries the Mahometan, "I bless T for the words of Thy prophet. They are light to m eye; they are fountains in the desert; they are wafted perfumes from Arabia; they are lovely as the houris paradise; they sound in my ears as the first music v which Thou wilt greet my soul, when it will be bo from the angel of death."

The Pagan looks first at the crowd in mute aston ment, and then asks whether the God of the Christi was He who sowed the teeth of the Dragon, and whet this Book partakes of the same qualities as were found those teeth; and he runs to unlock the temple of Jar

"Friend of the old Christianity," said the Israel turning to me, "when I shall be too idle to labor poor enough to become a hypocrite and shall go to new farm which the good Christians of America h purchased, to ameliorate my condition, which of those pec shall I join?"

"None of them," was my answer.

"Then are we to give up that blessed Book?" asks Deist, with a sneer.

"No!" was my reply.

"Shall we go and join in the fray?" said the Pag

"Stop!" cried the Mahometan, "there is serenity that man's countenance: lo! he is about to speak; multitude is appeased."

There arose, indeed, a man who stilled the tumu and, as the noise subsided, his words were more plai caught. The following passages I plainly heard:

"Let even the Catholic be invited to the holy wo We all agree that the Book contains the Word of G so does he. Let each take and read it for himself; us have no strife; let us send it to the Mahometan, the Jew, to the Pagan, to the poor, benighted Deist. each read for himself; let each interpret for himself; let e

elieve as he likes; we will all be Christians; we will all gree. It contains one precept which we can all practice, Love one another;' this is enough."

"Now," said the Deist, "there can be no necessity of a Bible. 'Love one another,' is, it appears, all the necessary art of its contents; why print any more?"

"Why," said the Mahometan, "there is the great principle of Freemasonry. I have learned this in my lodge; the Koran teaches more than the Bible. Alas! how ignorant are hose Christian dogs!"

"And, brother," said the Jew to the Pagan, "you know hat in our lodge we teach that Pythagoras, and Hiram, and Solomon, knew this principle as well as any sublime master ince the day of Noe or even of Adam. Of what use, then, s Christianity?"

To be serious: we must choose between an infallible uide to truth, who can speak and decide, or we must give p the cause of Christianity, of divine revelation; and though t is fashionable to profess to be a Christian, we unhesitatngly assert, that a vast portion of the more intelligent and nlightened of those who make this profession cannot see heir way through the difficulties which surround them, any nore than could the Jew, or the Pagan, or the Mahometan, r know what sect they should join in the contest; and the eaceful plea of distributing the Scripture, leaving to all the nterpretation, is but, in other words, making a very rational ompact not to fight about what they do not understand. But this sentence destroys the authority of revelation.

We want an infallible guide; the Bible is not and annot be that guide; because, although it contains the ords of truth, those words are susceptible of contradictory nterpretations; and, in fact, are interpreted contradictorily.

I stated that we could leave unquestioned the fact that his Book, which is thus triumphantly appealed to, was the ommunication of God's will to man. But why should we ssume or admit this fact without evidence; and, if we ave no infallible witness to testify this to be such a

divine communication, how shall we have this eviden
Several of those divisions above enumerated contend
this Book differs in several places from the original wl
is supposed to have been given. Several assert that
contains books never given by God. Several contend
it is quite defective. What authority have we to side v
one in preference to the other unless we have some ai
ment superior to those which they adduce? They adc
opinion. We want fact; and fact which will be fu
indisputably established by infallible authority; because
our authority be fallible, we might be led into error; a
if we are liable to be led into error, we have no certai
that we are not so led.

This view of the want of foundation for Christia
leaves it as baseless as any chimerical vision of fa
This view has produced, and still produces, more infide
than any other cause that I know of. I avow, that i
had nothing more substantial than opinion to rest upon
would not be a Christian.

What, then, is my view?

I find an unquestioned fact; and upon that fact
build.

The fact is, that there now exists in the world
very large society of Christians, spread through all
nations and forming but one body. I build upon this f
by a series of others, equally plain. 2. That body has r
a uniform code of doctrine. 3. That body has exis
during several centuries. 4. All the other divisions
Christians have gone out from this body, either by se
rating from it or by sub-dividing from some division wl
had previously separated. 5. These divisions all opp
each other upon the matter of doctrine, i. e. respecting
fact of what God told man to believe and to pract
6. Though they all agree in asserting that the great b
from which the separation has been made did err in fa
no two of them are agreed as to what those errors preci
are, though many of them concur in stating that the c

trinal errors of this great body are, in teaching a variety of articles which they contradict; yet, one of them will always assert that what the other calls error is truth in the doctrines of the original code which God has revealed. 7. They all assert that her errors consisted in changing from what was originally given by God. 8. They have never been able satisfactorily to point out the date of those alleged changes, nor that at the period of such alleged change, there continued together any large body of Christians who condemned this alleged change and who preserved the true doctrine. 9. This great body has clearly pointed out the date of all the changes which she alleged the separatists to have made in doctrines; also, the special doctrines, the author of the change, and all the circumstances of the separation. 10. This great body traces its unbroken existence to the days of Jesus Christ. 11. Such of the separated divisions as attempt to do the same, are obliged to graft themselves upon the stock of that great body, at the time that is pointed out as the period of their sepation. 12. Those bodies have at different times since their separation changed their doctrine; that is, at one period, they stated that God did not reveal what, at another time, they stated He revealed; and no one of them lays claim to be infallible in showing what God taught. 13. This great body alleges that it has never altered its doctrine, and that, at this day, it holds to every doctrinal declaration which it has made during eighteen centuries; and that it will infallibly teach what God has revealed; and, an imputation which other divisions frequently make upon it, and which it acknowledges to be—to itself—a source of gratification, is, that it obstinately holds to what it first taught, and will make no reformation in its doctrine, to suit the change of times and the progress of science.

I next view another body of facts, which are in full evidence, respecting which there can be no doubt. 1. Jesus Christ existed, and was put to death in Judea, about eighteen centuries ago. 2. He proved by miraculous works that He

had a divine mission. 3. He wrote no book of doctrine; but He instructed a number of persons whom He had selected; and He, in a special manner, gave particular instructions to some whom He had chosen from amongst these disciples. 4. He commissioned them to teach His doctrines to all mankind. 5. They did teach; and they, too, wrought miracles. 6. They instructed vast multitudes of others; some of whom they selected and commissioned as teachers, and associated with themselves. 7. Their mode of instruction was not by giving to the people a Book, which, they said, contained God's Word, and telling them to interpret it for themselve; and that whatever they thought to be the meaning of the Book was to be followed, though that meaning should be contradictory, as the opinions of the readers might be contradictory. 8. A few of them wrote abridged histories of the acts and sayings of Jesus Christ, the copies of which were very scarce; others wrote some espistles on particular occasions; and an imperfect history of some of the Acts of the Apostles was also written; together with a long and darkly mysterious history of a prophetic vision; but of all these, the copies were very few, and the circulation very limited. 9. Several other histories, epistles, and visions, were also circulated, which have been generally acknowledged, long since, to be compilations of falsehood, and many of them of folly; and have been rejected as such. 10. During more than two centuries these productions continued to circulate, without any public distinction having been generally made between them. 11. There was a dispute amongst the early Christians, in the days of the Apostles, as to what was the doctrine of Christ, respecting the observance of the law of Moses, and several other subjects. 12. This dispute was terminated, not by referring persons to any books of authority and leaving the individuals to judge for themselves, but by the authoritative decision of the teachers, who gave a judgment, in which they asserted they had the aid and co-operation of the Holy Ghost. 13. The persons who would not submit

that judicial decision were cut off from the Church. All other disputes were terminated in like manner; l all who would not submit were cut off in like man-, and thus formed new sects, calling themselves Chris-ıs, but not recognized by the great body. 15. More than ee centuries elapsed, before the books which are recog-ed as containing the Word of God, were separated from se which were spurious. 16. This selection was made the successors of the Apostles and was an act of judi-l, authoritative declaration. 17. Hitherto, those successors l their predecessors had been considered as the only hority, through which men could certainly know what us Christ had taught. 18. Their recognition of the truth what the selected books contained could not and did destroy any authority which they previously had and ich they and their successors were to have to the end the world. 19. After this selection, they continued to rcise their authority as before. 20. At this period, sev-l nations, containing several millions of Christians, had ull knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, although they l never seen a copy of the Scriptures; and then, their h was found to agree with that of the persons who, ɔnging to the great or universal or Catholic body, had) the Scriptures.

From these facts I draw the following conclusions: Christ did not establish as the mode of knowing His trines, the publication of Bibles and leaving to individ-s to interpret them as they thought fit; or—what is a modification of the same—establish those individuals judges, to know from Bible-reading whether the teacher e them His doctrine or not. 2. He sent teachers, to ɔm the people were to listen, and from whom and upon ɔse authority, the people were to receive His doctrine. This authority of theirs was approved by miracles and refore had the sanction of heaven. 4. It was by its rcise nations were converted and truth preserved. 5. It only by its recognition we can know that Scripture con-

tains the Word of God. 6. Without its recognition w have no certain knowledge that the New Testament co tains the doctrines of Christ. 7. If it be a fallible tr bunal in what concerns faith, we have no certainty th the books which we receive are inspired and that tho which we reject are not God's Word. 8. Therefore, if th great body of teachers of the Church cannot give us wi infallible certainty the doctrines of Christ, we have no ce ainty that these doctrines are contained in the New Te tament or are now taught any where in the world.

III.

We have now seen general considerations founded up facts, which lead one to conclude: 1. That we cannot ha a certainty of what God has taught, without having a w ness who will give us with infallible certainty the doctri which He revealed. 2. That we cannot have faith witho such infallible testimony. And 3. That the facts of t establishment of Christianity evidently suppose the pub teachers of the Church, as a body, to be a witness of th description; and that, if they be not, we have no certai that Scripture is the Word of God; nor have we any c tainty that we now find the true doctrines of Christ.

In every human society, men not only make laws; b however plain those laws may be, a tribunal from wh there is no appeal decides for all the members what is meaning of that law. And, although this tribunal is lia to error, society causes it to be regarded as infallible. ciety cannot make it infallible; but it can have it trea as if it were an infallible tribunal; otherwise, the would be useless, if not mischievous. What would be thou of two litigants and their advocates who would come i court, and, each producing his law book, decide in his f favor, when the tribunal had already decided; the one wh the decision favored, remaining satisfied with this decis while the other party said: "The tribunal has erred; I kn the law; the judges are but men, I will not abide

ir decision?" How long could society hold together? ıo would live in a country where the order of the court ıld not be enforced? Yet, we all agree, this tribunal ght err. Still, the good of society requires that it must treated as if infallible. Indeed, if it could be made allible, it ought to be made so; and, in practice, it is de so. No one goes before such a tribunal merely for ice or instruction; recourse is had to it for authorita- e decision. To go for advice or instruction would be ing it no power to effect the object of its creation; ause, you might be unwilling to follow the advice, and ght not consider the instruction good, nor the evidence ficient. The Supreme Court of the United States gener- publishes the grounds of its decisions; but the judge er asks the parties whether they consider those grounds ficient. The decision is made by authority of the court, l not by the admission of the parties. Common sense, ce, truth, justice, the public good require this.

We have seen that the contests as to what is the mean- of passages of the Bible are as numerous as the con- s about the meaning of the law of our States; and a ınal is as necessary to give the one with accuracy and tainty, as to give the other. And, if it be important to ow what God teaches, as it unquestionably is, it is im- tant that the tribunal appointed to tell us what He ches should not err. Why are the courts of society ible? Because society, from which they derive their er, and by which they are erected, could not gift them h infallibility. The tribunal of the Church is erected God, who is all-powerful. It derives its commission to h from Him who could make it infallible; and His dom shows the necessity of doing what His power can ct. He must, then, have made the tribunal of the Church allible in testifying what He has taught. Single indi- uals are liable to err in their decisions; but the tri- ıal is infallible; not because composed of a number of allible individuals, but because Almighty wisdom saw the

necessity and Almighty power can effect the great object. Now, this tribunal consists of the Church, i. e., of the teaching portion which succeeds to the Apostles—viz: the Bishop of Rome and the great majority of bishops in his communion. These successors of the Apostles have always formed this tribunal. Infallibity is then not a raising of these individuals as tyrants over their brethren, but the Providence of God securing to their united testimony shall give us a certain knowledge of what God has proposed to us as doctrines of faith.

I shall conclude this portion of my remarks by stating another fact, which I can prove, but which might not be so easily admitted by our opponents as those unquestionable ones which I laid down before, viz., that from the beginning the great body of Christians testified that this tribunal was infallible. The doctrine is, that the Church is an infallible, authoritative tribunal, which herself examines and decides upon the evidence, and then declares to man the fact, by the authority of God, who made her infallible, and who gave to her the authority. But this authority extends only to matters which have been revealed by God; it does not reach to mere concerns of this world.

Let us take another view of facts: 1. There was a Christian Church before there was a Christian Bible. 2. That Church was organized and perfect, and widely spread abroad, before one particle of the Christian Bible was written. 3. It was upon the authoritative testimony of that Church that the Bible was received. 4. If that testimony had not been given, no person could have any certainty that this Book, which was selected from several scattered writings, contained the revelation of God to man.

Whence we conclude: If that Church was not infallibly correct in giving this decision and testimony, we have no infallibly certain foundation for our faith. Therefore, if the Church is not infallible, the Christian Scriptures are not a certain rule of faith. And when Luther asserts that the epistle of St. James is a book of no authority, and does

not contain the Word of God, perhaps he is right; and the Church of England, which receives it as the Word of God, perhaps is in error. How are we to know which we should believe? The Presbyterian Church gives to us, as the Word of God, the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John;[1] and a great many learned men and whole congregations tell us this is an impudent forgery which contradicts the Word of God. How are we to know which of them to believe? The Roman Catholic and other Churches tell us that, of the Old Testament, Baruch, Tobias, Judith Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two books of the Machabees, contain the Word of God; the Church of England and several others tell us they are apocryphal and of no authority. Which are we to believe?

In the days of St. Jerome, that is, about fourteen hundred years ago, several persons rejected the last chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark; and now it is received; but an entire sentence which it then contained has been omitted. Upon what ground was this chapter received? Upon what ground was this sentence omitted? In the same age and the previous one were to be found several copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, which omitted two entire verses of the twenty-second chapter and one word of the nineteenth chapter, all which are most important and are in all the modern Bibles. By what authority were they introduced? Which held the true doctrine, they who omitted or they who inserted those passages?

The principal portion of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, as now found in the Protestant and Catholic versions, is said to have been taken from an old and rejected Gospel, which no one now pretends to be the Word of God.[2] How are we to know whether this is God's Word or a fable? Marcion, Arius, Luther, Brentius, Kemnitz, and their followers all assert that St. Paul never

[1] And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.—1 Ep. John, c. v, v. 7.

[2] The Gospel used by the Nazarene Ebionite heretics called the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, and that it does not contain the Word of God. Calvin doubts if it was written by St. Paul, but asserts that it does contain the Word of God, and is a part of Holy Scripture; and that it is in error in the Lutherans to reject this canonical book. The Church of England puts it into her canon. Which of these are we to believe? Luther and his early adherents asserted that the epistle of Jude was undoubtedly not the Word of God. He also rejects the first epistle of St. Peter, but receives the second, and has great doubts as to whether the second and third epistles of St. John contain the Word of God. Calvin receives the two of Peter, the three of John, and that of Jude, as undoubtedly the Word of God. So, too, does the English Church. Which are we to follow? The Marcionists, the Alogians, the Theodocians rejected the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, as a forgery and not containing the word of God. Luther, in his first preface, rejects it as not the Word of God, nor the production of an Apostle. Brentius and Kemnitz hold with these; but, in his second preface, Luther doubts upon the subject. Calvin has no doubt whatever; he is certain that it is the Word of God; and so are the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, who were Lutherans; and so is the Church of England, which received it as one of which there never was question. Yet strange as it might seem there is not in the entire canon a book upon which there was longer and more serious question in the Church. Now, take away an infallible tribunal which is to give us a decision, and what are we to do? How is a question to be decided where the litigants not only cannot agree in the interpretation of the book which contains the law, but cannot even agree as to the precise passages which are of authority? Of what value is a book said to be authority upon any subject, which book has been collected from amongst many rejected documents which were at one time in equal circulation with the selected portions; and the collectors of which book neither had any authority to make the collection nor any author to point

out with certainty what was a document of truth and what was a fabulous composition? Such a collection could be no evidence—no authority.

The Church existed before the Scriptures. The Church had authority to teach before the Scriptures were written. The Church did teach before the Scriptures were written. If the Church was not then infallible, she might have taught error for true doctrine. When the Scriptures were written, it was by the teaching of the Church that writing which contained the Word of God was separated from that which did not contain it. If the Church was not infallible in distinguishing the truth from the error, she might have given to us error for truth. If we do not follow the distinction of the Church, we, who are not infallible, may take what is not God's Word for that which really is His Word. Thus, if the Church is not infallible, we have no certainty what God has taught; we cannot know Scripture from foolish and blasphemous forgery.

To this reasoning, I humbly apprehend, there can be no alternative by which the conclusion can be combatted, except by saying that every individual will infallibly discover that which the whole body of the Church cannot. Thus, instead of having an aggregate body infallible, we shall have every individual infallible. And those infallible individuals will have a thousand contradictions, and all these contradictions will be true. Now, upon our doctrine, we have an aggregate body, which has existed in unbroken succession from the days of Christ to the present day, testifying to us with infallible and authoritative certainty what are the doctrines which He taught, and in what books they may be found, and what is the meaning of the doubtful and obscure passages. And this body has not, in any one of those cases, during eighteen centuries, contradicted its testimony upon any of those heads. I further humbly apprehend that we have no choice left between embracing this doctrine, and asserting that we cannot now know with any

certainty what are the doctrines of Christ, nor where they are to be found.

But, does not this monstrous and arrogant doctrine of infallibility enslave mankind? No. Suppose we were to go into any court of the United States, and say to the presiding judges: "You shall not sit here, because we are a free people. You are arrogant tyrants, who presume to tell us that we shall not quote the statutes of Congress, until you will please to recognize their authority. Ambitious, haughty fools, will you presume to set yourselves over Congress, and say that those laws shall not be pleaded before your honors, until they shall receive the fiat of your ephemeral omnipotence? Are you not the creatures whom the law has formed? Are we not the source of that power from which the law emanates? And yet, you tell us that we shall not plead that law before you, who are equally subject to it as the meanest of those over whom you are elevated, until you shall have examined and told us whether you will recognize the fact that it is the law of the nation. But, mark! what is more intolerable than your proud and insolent monopoly of the gifts which heaven has freely bestowed upon us all? You vouchsafe now to tell us that this book contains the law. Admirable condescension! As if it was not equally law before you said so! Surely, you will not pretend that it was your nod which made it binding? No. If you never saw it, still it would be law. But we must not interpret it, except according to your good will and pleasure! What! Have we not eyes to read as you have? Are we more dull than you are? Will you deny to us what God has given to us, perhaps with less stinted measure than to yourselves—intellect? So forsooth it is law, but you alone are to expound its meaning and to apply it to our several cases. Why then was it printed? Why are we called upon to read it? Is it to be to us a closed book, a sealed volume? You insult the legislature by supposing they *cannot* write or enact laws which can be understood by

hose for whom they are to be a code of instruction. You ırrogate to yourself a dominion which we will not submit o; a power to say that the law means what you please o say is its meaning, and that we must submit to your aprices. We want no well-paid arrogance such as yours, o intervene between a Congress which writes plain Eng-ish and a people to whom that language is most familiar. Your law-craft has created artificial difficulties. We can ınderstand the law of God. Shall we be unable to under-tand the laws of men who live amongst us? The despotic rrogance of Romish infallibility has been annihilated; why hould yours survive? The principles of Popery and all ourts of law are the same. One has fallen; the other ıust follow. The march of mind has commenced. The ıariner's compass and the art of printing, the Reformation nd the blow-pipe, calorics and gases were unknown to the ncients. Despotism must shrink back to its congenial arkness; truth is effulgent; Gothic barbarism must give ray. Leave those seats, from which you darted the light-ing of your threats and hurled the thunder of your espotism! Man must be free."

What would be thought of us should we make such an ddress to the supreme court of the United States of ımerica?

Are our citizens enslaved?

IV.

I now take up another view of this subject. It is ossible to discover the doctrine of Christ or it is not. hall we assert that it is impossible to discover now with ertainty what the Saviour taught? Then we must say hat Christianity has been lost. Revelation is now of no se. For, if we cannot know with certainty what God has evealed, of what use is it to know that He did formerly ıake a revelation? If we find it impossible to know with ertainty what Christ has taught, Christianity has been lost. Ve assert that it is possible to know with certainty what

our Saviour has taught. It must be by testimony, not by any new revelation. What is that testimony? The Roman Catholic says it is the testimony of all Catholic nations informing us what has been preserved by all the Christian Churches, through all ages, since the death of the Saviour.

The separatist says this will not infallibly lead you to truth. Then we are without any certain and assured mode of knowing truth; and therefore it is impossible to know for certain what is truth. We can only have conjecture. Faith is built upon certain knowledge, not upon conjecture; therefore we cannot have faith.

But another person says: "We may receive with infallible certainty what the Bible contains; and thus we, by that blessed Book, are brought to a certain knowledge and to faith."

Our answer is very short. First, that any particular portion of that Book contains God's Word will, upon the principle of the separatists, depend only upon the opinion of one or more persons who are individually and collectively liable to err. And, next, the meaning of the passages of that portion will depend only upon the opinion of one or more, who, taken individually or collectively, are liable to err. But opinion of persons liable to error, as well in their aggregate as in their individual capacity, is not a ground of certainty. Thus, there can be no faith. In order, then, to be certain, we must either admit the whole body to be infaillible in its testimony or we must assert that a portion of that body is infallible. The Roman Catholic says that the whole body is infallible, but the authoritative testimony is given by the established tribunal in the name of the body. That tribunal is the head and the great majority of the commissioned teachers, speaking in the name of the whole body. I now ask, which is more arrogant — to make this assertion or to claim infallibility for every individual who says: "I know this Book is canonical; and I know this is its meaning; and I am right, and all who differ from me are wrong?"

Yet must we take up one or the other of the following propositions: 1. It is now impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught. 2. It is from the Catholic Church we will know with infallible certainty what God has revealed. 3. Every individual who reads the Bible with good dispositions will infallibly know that his dispositions are such as will insure to him a knowledge of truth; also, he will be infallibly correct in ascertaining what books contain the Word of God and also the full meaning of all the passages of those books. 4. Although the Roman Catholic Church may err, and individuals may err, yet a particular body will give us with infallible certainty a knowledge of what God has revealed, and that body is ———. Each reader is at liberty to fill the blank as he pleases.

If we support the first proposition, we destroy faith. If we maintain the third, we shall have to reconcile myriads of contradictions. I do not know any one who will maintain the fourth. Therefore the second must be true, or our distinctive proposition is inaccurate. I shall believe it to be accurate until it shall be amended by giving me some fifth proposition.

Arrogance, tyranny, superstition, priestcraft, and some other words of this kind used in these States, have no definite meaning. The ear is accustomed to the sound; those sounds are declaimed against and written at. The perpetual playing upon them reminds me of the music of a drum, where there is great noise and great vacuity; but yet this noise excites to arms. To me the whole of what is thus written appears to mean as much as the philosophic question: "Utrum chimæra, bombilians in vacuo, potest comedere suas primarias intentiones?" or as the following definitions: "A covenant is a cord to tie us to God; and now God hath made an iron whip of these cords, which we have broken asunder to whip us withal." "The Gospel to a nation is like the Book of Canticles, which begins with a kiss and ends with spices."

Let us examine facts. The object is to discover what

has been taught by an Individual who has plainly taught what it is necessary for us to know. He wrote nothing; He commissioned a number of Apostles; they associated a number of others to their commission; they and their associates spread those doctrines through the world. In the course of nature they and their associates gradually died; but new apostles arose in their stead, who, by the survivors, were duly instructed, and by the faithful were fully recognized; and whose doctrine, given in public, was, by all those who had heard the original Apostles, declared to be the same which they had from the beginning. The body of teachers and of hearers is thus continued, like the human frame, continually changing by loss and increment, but still always the same, though always in process of insensible change of the particles of which it is made up. The body of the Church pervades several nations, sometimes at war, sometimes at peace, having conflicting interests, discordant tastes, mutual prejudices, tongues generally unintelligible to each other. In every place persons separate. The separatists are condemned by those from whom they first went out. Their allegation is, that the great body changed the original doctrine. They cannot say who was the author of the change; they cannot tell the time when it took place; they find no body which they can point out as holding their new tenets; they succeed to no body; they build upon their own opinion of the meaning of a text. Their neighbors inform the whole body, which has subsisted from the beginning, that these men have made an innovation. This great body, so divided by worldly distinctions, and yet united in faith, examines what was given by the Founder of His Church; what has been held from the day of the foundation to the day of the examination; every record is searched, every monument is examined, every document is unfolded. The meaning which those alleged texts had from the beginning is established. The vast majority of the bishops from every nation, perhaps the whole body without an individual exception, all concur in stating

hat these innovators have made a mistake; that they have rred; that man has no authority to change what God has iven. Rome—which possesses the original documents of enturies, collected from every Church which now exists and rom thousands now no more; Rome—where Peter estab-ished his tribunal, presiding by divine appointment in the iidst of his brethren, and whose successors, as history emonstrates, have always sat at the head of this vast ociety; Rome gives the testimony and the assent to this ecision.

Yet, this is arrogance; this is presumption; this is riestcraft; this is tyranny. But it is no arrogance for the inovators to declaim against this universal testimony! No resumption for one or two men and their adherents to ill this assembly the synagogue of the devil! No priest-raft can be where there is no priesthood; nor is it tyranny) oppose common sense, common order, every principle of eason, every principle of law.

I would put one plain question. Which is more arro-ant, the man who says: "If certainty can be had, it iust be obtained by such evidence as this; it is impos-ible that there could have been so extensive a conspiracy gainst truth, and yet no one to discover it; it is impos-ible that all these documents could have been fabricated, nd yet no one to detect; it is impossible that God should ave given man a revelation, and yet have provided no iode for its certain transmission; that certain mode cannot e by a book which He never wrote and which can be nterpreted into contradictions; about the meaning of which iillions are disputing; and whose meaning will never be ettled but by authoritative explanation; it is impossible, ' this Church has perished, that it could be re-established, xcept by Himself, or by His commission sufficiently attested. Ve have no such testimony; but here is evidence of suc-ession; here is evidence of consent; here is evidence that iere could not have been conspiracy or fabrication; here 'e congregated millions, on one side, following up their

predecessors; and on the other, here are a few bold men, following no person, and opening a new path, from which, they assert without any evidence of the fact, that those millions, and the myriads of their predecessors, have deserted. I will submit to this authority." Or the other side which exhibits some men, who tell us: "Let every man judge for himself, and though we should contradict each other, we are all right." Or, perhaps: "Take and read; but follow our interpretation or you will be in error."

Is there common sense in the assertion that contradictory propositions are true? Is there no arrogance in saying: "Though the Catholic world did mislead you, yet we cannot; hold to us, for we alone are right?" This leads to my former conclusion: Without infallibility there is no foundation for faith; and if infallibility exists any where, it can only be found in the Roman Catholic Church.

The distinction between anarchy and government consists in the subjection of individual will to law, in government; and the absence of law and the licentiousness of individual will is anarchy. If we have no rule to which the will is to be subject in religion, it is a state of anarchy. If we have a rule to which individual will must be subject, we have order and government in religion. If Scripture is said to be that law, the first question is, which books of Scripture are that law. If every man is free to accept or reject any book he pleases, this is anarchy. If man's individual will is regulated by any law upon the subject, what is that law, if the Church has no authority? If the Church has authority, but may err, in giving those books which do not contain God's law, or in withholding those which contain it, we are reduced to a complete uncertainty of what the law is; we are left in a state of anarchy. Nothing short of infallible authority can relieve us from this state.

Suppose this difficulty got over. Scripture is now the law to which individual will must submit. Two individuals read the same passages. One believes their meaning to be

that Christ is God, and that if man refuses to adore Him, he will be punished eternally; the other believes their meaning to be that Christ is not God—that if adores Him he will be guilty of idolatry, and will be damned for the breach of the first commandment. Thus, private interpretation is subjecting the law to the will of the individual, and not subjecting the will of the individual to the law. This is anarchy. If God gave a revelation to man, it certainly could not be upheld by anarchy.

Despotism is where one master acts without any fixed rule to control his will; where the will is restrained by the necessity of having the previous consent of others, there can be no despotism; and where this consent must be given in a particular manner, well known and clearly ascertained, the persons who are guided by a council of this description are under a government of law, and not under the sway of a despotism; and where this body is restrained to pass its judgment upon only one or a few ascertained subjects, and to make its laws only upon given and defined topics, so far from being a despotism, it is an extremely limited government of ascertained law and a defined constitution, which is the more likely to be free from cabal and intrigue and faction, as the members of that council reside in different nations, have conflicting local prejudices and local partialities, are wedded to distinct theories and forms of human government, belong to States which have no common language, recent common origin, or common interest, but are frequently in open hostility with each other. As I find all these characteristics in the government of our Church, I must call it anything but a despotism; and will presume to say, that when such a body of teachers, together with their head, unite in deciding, after the examination of evidence, that those are the doctrines which God revealed to their predecessors, they will be infallibly correct in their decision; and, that if the decision is opposed or impugned, the arrogance is more likely to be upon the side of the opponent, who, upon

the strength of his opinion or that of a few of his panions, would say: "I am right, and all these a error." If there be despotism, it is more likely to b despotism of the individual, who, bloated with his opinion, tells his followers: "All these have erred millions who adhere to them err; I am right; follow

I do not think the doctrine of Church infallibility doctrine of despotism or arrogance.

The Apostles framed a creed, that is, a form of do to which they required implicit assent to be given. this a piece of advice or a recommendation? No; i an act of authoritative decision; and no person was mitted to join the Christian body until he gave his to this; and, if a Christian doubted of the truth o of its propositions, he was to be separated from the s This document contained the following as one of indubitably true propositions: "I believe in the Catholic Church." The meaning is obvious, that ther but one Church; and that this Church was Catho Universal; and, for a very plain reason — because Almighty gave but one set of doctrines. They we same for the whole world. He did not tell the peo England one set of propositions and tell the peo Rome another set, which contradicted those whic revealed to the English. Of all the extravagant n that ever were admitted into the human mind, no more puerile than that which is thoughtlessly che by many persons, viz.: "There can be two or more Churches." The true Church teaches the true do God has revealed the true doctrine. Let us suppo were to say: "God has told the Unitarians that but One person. God has told the Trinitarians tha is Three persons. He has told the former that Christ is not God and is not to be adored; He however, told the latter that Jesus Christ is God a to be adored." Is this not absurdly puerile to make guilty of ridiculous contradiction, because we desire to

to our prejudices and to assume the appearance of liberality? God reveals to the Episcopalian that bishops are a different order from priests and priests different from deacons. But He reveals to the Presbyterian that all this is perfect delusion. God revealed to the Church-of-England-men in the first days of the change of religion under King Edward's protectors, that the sick were to be anointed; but in the reign of Elizabeth, He revealed that there was to be no anointing, and yet He left the injunction in the epistle of St. James. Are we then to say all those and a million more of contradictions are the "Holy Catholic Church?" Yet, every division of these makes its "Confession of Faith," or its "Articles of Religion;" and it tells us: "This is the true faith; yet I may have erred; still, it is true; and you must believe it, though I am not infallible."

I can understand how an infallible Church might feel warranted in drawing up a formulary to be received; but I am totally at a loss to know how a body which claims no infallibility can presume to say: "Though we are fallible, yet we are so certain that we give you what God has revealed, that unless you receive it, you are in gross error." If one could be amused at so melancholy an exhibition of inconsistency, this is indeed ridiculous. Nothing but a consciousness of infallibility could warrant such an act. Yet, from the days of the Apostles to the present, it has been done, but with this essential difference, viz.: all the Catholics, whilst they laid down the doctrine, claimed to be infallibly correct; all the separatists laid down the doctrine with equal precision, and said: "Neighbors, we are certain we are right, though we say not that we are infallible; and we are quite certain that Rome is wrong; and we are quite certain that all other separatists are wrong. We alone are right."

Thus, they condemned each other and inveighed against the great body; each proclaiming that he was certainly right and that his neighbor was certainly wrong. The

world could not tempt them to say that they were infallible; but they always acted as if they were, and they killed more Catholics for not yielding to their infallibility than Catholics killed separatists for denying theirs. The Catholic Church always said she was infallible; and acted in full accordance with the principle. The separated Churches say they are not infallible; but they act as if they were. Thus, if we view the acts of all Christians, we shall find their conduct exhibiting the doctrine which only the great Catholic Church professes to believe, and has always professed, and upon which she and her opponents have always acted; and, without holding which we could never know what was inspired Scripture or the doctrine of God.

V.

Let us keep our principles in view. Faith is the belief of what God has revealed: to believe what God has revealed, we must certainly know what it is: to know with certainty what God has revealed, we must have infallibly correct testimony: infallibly correct testimony cannot be given by a fallible or by a fallacious witness. Therefore, if my witness be not infallible, that is, one that cannot be deceived, and—not fallacious—or incapable of deceiving me, I can have no faith in God's revelation. Now, the Bible can give no testimony of itself; but suppose we have it testified to. One fact is indisputably clear, viz.: all those who assert that the Bible is plain differ with each other in its interpretation, and they contradict each other as regards the plain meaning of several of its passages, and those contradictions are of such importance that they have caused them to break off communion with each other. For instance:

The Episcopalian says: "It is plain from the Scriptures that God revealed that bishops, priests and deacons are necessary in the Church; and that priests have not the same power as bishops have; and that priests cannot ordain a bishop nor ordain another priest."

The Presbyterian says: "It is plain from Scripture that our prelacy is arrogance and impious domination; the ord 'priest' is Jewish and heathenish; presbyters and ishops are but two names for the same description of ersons, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery s Scripture ordination."

The Methodist says: "It is plain from the Scripture at bishops and presbyters and deacons are distinct orders; is not true that bishops and presbyters are but the same ame for one class of persons—they are different classes; ut, though the Episcopalian is right in this, he is wrong asserting that bishops only can ordain. Nay, even presyters can ordain a bishop; John Wesley was only a resbyter, and he ordained a bishop, and when that bishop as ordained, it became his usual duty to ordain other ishops and presbyters; but there was plain Scripture for e act."

All these will tell us that there is plain Scripture for aptizing infants. The Baptist will say there is plain cripture against baptizing any who have not been taught nd converted to God. Here, then, are four divisions, each laiming plain Scripture for what he says is essential, the thers asserting that Scripture is plainly against what, is opponent states, it plainly alleges. These four agree at there is plain Scripture for the divinity of Jesus hrist. The Unitarian alleges that Scripture is plain condemnation of this error. They all agree that upon is point it is essential to be correctly informed. We have ow five divisions forming a Bible Society, giving us a ook which, they say, is so plain that it may be safely ut into the hands of all persons, that they may form eir faith from its contents; that it contains only plain uth, and will infallibly lead us aright; and yet they ntradict each other and refuse to be of one Church, of e communion, because this plain Book has taught them ose contradictions, by plain texts, upon the most essential octrines. I might bring five hundred sects in lieu of five,

if necessary. This is to me a greater mystery of the constitution of the human mind than many that we meet with.

Thus, we can have no faith without an infallible witness; and yet, the simple view of an obvious fact convinces us that the Bible cannot be this witness

Before the Bible was written such a witness was necessary; even if this Book, when it should be written, was to become what we see it could not. Faith was necessary as soon as God spoke to man. Now, we know as matter of history, that God made some promises and declarations to Adam. Promises and declarations were made known to his children; sometimes by special revelation of God, sometimes by other testimony. These were not written; God did not reveal them specially to each individual. Yet, these persons had faith, founded upon these promises and declarations; and of these they had abundant evidence to create an infallible certainty. There was no public tribunal; but there was public testimony as to the special facts. And there was special and renewed and frequent revelation to a well known public character, whose communication with God was matter of public and important notoriety to all concerned; not mere fanaticism of the imagination. Thus, from the days of Adam to the days of Moses, no generation passed away without such evidence; and this evidence gave infallible certainty of what God told man. Man was not left to conjecture. He had an infallible witness; and a witness who could not deceive him. Upon this he believed with certainty. This was faith.

The people in Egypt and at Sinai had undoubted evidence of the fact that God spoke to Moses, and commissioned him to write His communication. When written, it was read for them. God again gave them evidence that it contained the communication of His will. By the direction of God Himself, several tribunals were established, and the individuals to form them were selected and placed in office, and their administration was commenced.

Let us now view this matter historically. Before the *y was given* at Sinai, Moses had received the evidence

of God's law by the tradition of his nation; and had also had several special revelations. His authority had been attested by evident miracles; and he was now at the mountain, where a new revelation was to be made in presence of the people. Before this period several questions concerning the law of God must have arisen. It will be right to see how they were decided.

We find that Moses himself sat every day to judge and to decide, because the people came to him to inquire of God; and he made known to them the statutes of God and His laws. But as this was a laborious and too heavy a duty minor tribunals were appointed by Moses, in which all minor cases were decided. But there lay a right of appeal to the chief, to whom God had given His manifestations; and he decided all the hard and difficult questions. Thus decisions were made by authority,[1] not by conjecture, and there was a tribunal from which the law of God was promulgated; and in this tribunal authority existed to apply the principle to the special case.

The high priest of the Jews was appointed by God and derived his authority immediately from heaven. He was to be consulted in all religious matters as a tribunal of the last resort; and in solemn cases he took the seventy elders as his advisers. He frequently, in cases of great difficulty, went specially to consult the Lord at the Mercy-Seat,[2] and God promised to answer him. The history shows that this promise was frequently fulfilled; and, indeed, it would be very extraordinary presumption and blasphemy to say that God would not or could not fulfill His promise. The decorations of the high priest, which were minutely prescribed by the great legislator of Sinai, were not without their meaning. Upon his breast-plate was judgment and truth, for God had appointed him the judge to decide and the witness to testify the true doctrine. His authority was not only respectable, but ultimate and conclusive, and bound under the penalty of death every man in Israel. All the historians of the nation concur with Josephus that the high

[1] Exod., c. xviii. [2] Ib., c. xxv.

priests of the Jews were their judges of controversies,[1] and this by virtue of their office, which, we see, was of divine appointment. Certainly a person does not come to a judge in his official capacity for salutary advice as a respectable character, but as an authority to decide. Liberty is preserved by law; and law is valueless without authority for its administration.

The authority of this high priest was what enabled the Jewish nation to discover the books which were written by inspired men, and which contained the communications of God to man, from those which did not possess this authority. In many instances the writers of the divine Word, wrought miracles, and thus attested their mission; the recognition of the standing authority was also given. The Book was entrusted to the keeping of the priest; and in all cases of doubt it was explained by his judgment. Amongst the Jewish people what we call the right of private judgment was not known: and they who used this privilege did so against the express provision of their law and disobeyed the command of God. They were the schismatical and heretical sects who introduced most of the corrupt doctrines and practices against which our Saviour so pointedly inveighed. But He respected the authority, although it had fallen into bad hands, and drew near the term of its limitation.[2]

It is very plain that in the old law there was a living, speaking tribunal, to which, by the positive ordinance of God, every Israelite was bound, under the most severe penalty, to submit in religious concerns. I would ask two questions: 1. Could a God whose essence is truth command this people, under the penalty of death, to pay implicit obedience to a tribunal which could lead them from truth into error? 2. Could not that God, who commanded this obedience and who loves truth, make this tribunal infallibly correct in its decisions regarding any doctrine?

We feel the evidence of the fact that He gave the command; and the knowledge of His power leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that in hearing the decision

[1] Deut., c. xvii. [2] Matt., c. xiii, v. 2, 3.

of that tribunal, we listen to the voice of God Himself; and as God cannot lead us into error, that the decisions of this tribunal must be, inevitably, conformable to divine truth.

Is it presumable that God did more to preserve a knowledge of true doctrine in the Jewish Church than in the Christian Church; the institutions of the former being only the shadows and figures of those of the latter? Dr. Whitaker, a respectable Protestant divine, gives a very simple and sufficient reason for the law of Deuteronomy. "It was not lawful to appeal, for otherwise there would have been no end to contentions."[1] And to whom would the appeal be made? From the tribunal created by God to the litigant who stood before it! Would it not be evidence of folly to create such a burlesque of a tribunal? And shall we say that the conduct of God is manifest folly? Core, Dathan and Abiram did not like to see Aaron clothed with this power.[2] Human pride revolts at the existence of any tribunal not occupied by itself or subjected to itself.

I presume I shall be permitted, now, to quote the prophecy of Isaias, as divinely inspired and containing the Word of God. I shall make my quotations from the Protestant version. The thirty-fifth chapter is a prophecy regarding the Christian Church: "And a high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein"[3]

I ask whether all those persons who hold contradictory opinions, upon the most important doctrines derived from their interpretation of the Bible, are free from error? How will a way-faring man, though a fool, be able to find exemption from error, where so many otherwise great and good men have exhibited themselves so weak, and so bewildered, and so inconsistent even with themselves? The Roman Catholic Church, (if we believe a standard book of a respectable denomination of Protest-

[1] De Sac. Scrip. [2] Num., c. xvi. [3] Is., c. xxxv, v. 8.

ants,)[1] i. e., all Christendom, was, during eight hundred years and upwards, buried in the most profound idolatry; and the people had no way of extricating themselves therefrom. And the vast majority of Christendom is still in the same state. I cannot, then, recognize the truth of this prophecy with the facts that I see, even to-day; for, if the Roman Catholic Church leads to error, many persons who are wise, and many who are fools, not only can but do err. And Protestants have made but little progress to abolish the difficulty, because they give us only a rule, (if rule it may be called),—a principle—which has made serious divisions amongst themselves, and must, in the nature of things, not only perpetuate but multiply those divisions.

If, however, there is, in that Church which has existed from the days of the Apostles, a tribunal, whose decision will infallibly preserve us from error; even a fool may learn what that decision is, and the prophecy will be manifestly fulfilled.

In the fifty-fourth chapter the same prophet gives to the Church, amongst other promises of God, the following declarations: "For thy Maker is thine Husband, the Lord of Hosts is His name. . . . . In a little wrath I hid My face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. . . . . For, as I have sworn that the waters of Noe should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of My peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee. . . . . And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord. . . . . Whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake. . . . No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn."[2]

[1] "Hom. of Ch. of Eng. and of the P. E. Ch. of U. S." Hom. on Peril of Idol.
[2] Is., c. liv, v. 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17.

God does not make an eternal union with what might become the mother of error; yet, here He makes Himself the Husband of the Christian Church, to which He promises everlasting kindness; a covenant of peace more stable than the mountains, and to the observance of which He swears; as He did, that He would not destroy the world by a deluge; and He bestows upon this Church the privilege of condemning in judgment every tongue which will rise up against her. If this Church, then, can err in those judicial condemnations, God has, by an oath, bound Himself to a covenant with error

In his fifty-ninth chapter we have the Redeemer's covenant with the Christian Church in the following words: "My spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever."[1]

Upon this passage I think no comment is necessary: "I will make thee an eternal excellency. . . . Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light."[2]

The reader will recollect that these are prophecies, to the complete fulfilling of which God has irrevocably bound Himself; that they are made to the Christian Church; and that if this Church can lead us into error, or herself be in error regarding God's doctrine, not one of those prophecies has been fulfilled; and that the Roman Catholic Church is the only portion of the Christian Church which now exists without having come away from some other division; and that every division now in existence is but a portion which has separated from her, either in itself, or in some one from which it sprang; and, that the plea for this separation always was, that this Church did err, and did lead others into error; and that every such division formed a new Church upon the plea that there was not, at the

[1] Is., c. lix, v. 21. [2] Ib., c. lx, v. 15, 20.

time of its secession, any Church in existence which free from error, and therefore, that the covenant which (made was not at that time fulfilled by Him.

VI.

By looking a little closer into some other prophe of the Mosaic Church, we shall find the principle whic contemplated in the last section greatly supported. I sl give but one more of this description.

In the prophecy of Daniel it is stated concerning Church of Christ, that "the God of heaven shall set a kingdom which shall never be destroyed;" which "sl not be left to other people;" which "shall stand foreve But, if this Church can err in teaching the doctrines God, it can be destroyed. If truth shall leave this Chu to go to other people whom this Church condemns, t kingdom, then, will be left to those other people. If t Church has fallen off and not stood in truth, and society was found at that time preserving the purity doctrine from the beginning, then this kingdom did stand. If, therefore, the Church originally established lead men into error, the prophecy of Daniel has not b accomplished.

The Church of the old law was to last until the com of the Redeemer, who was promised. The high priest a the council of the Sanhedrim were to be, until His arri a supreme, earthly tribunal, from which there was no app in matters of religion. From various events it was belie that if the time of redemption had not already arrived, was at hand. Inquiry was made of the chief pri and scribes, and explaining the prophecies, they distin told where the Redeemer should be born. At that per there was born in that place Jesus of Nazareth. His wo and His declarations proved His commission and His natu The Aaronite commission became now superseded, and Je was to give a new one, of which the former was o typical. He did give this commission to the Apostles.

find them, too, prove their commission by miracles; we behold them exercise their power. We believe that man is now to know what God has said in the same manner; that is, upon the same principle that his ancestors were formerly to have known it. The Aaronite assembly was the court of final decision by which, under the appointment of God, all were bound in matters of religion. The Apostolic assembly succeeds to this tribunal; the commission is extended; decisions are given; they are obeyed; the Apostles assert that the Holy Ghost presides and aids them; they refer to their appointment by the Saviour; to the miracles wrought by themselves; they command the Christians to hold to the testified doctrine, even in opposition, if the case were possible, to the testimony of angels; they condemn all who separate from them; they charge their followers to avoid heretics; that is, choosers, persons who, instead of receiving the testimony of the authorized body, select, according to their own judgments, their own opinions. Their new associates—their successors—follow the same line of conduct. They require their decision to be received as final, because they will give, with infallible certainty, those doctrines which God revealed. They do not refer the persons to the Scriptures, saying to them: "Here is what God taught; read and judge for yourselves; let every man follow his own opinion;" but they say: "We teach you what God has taught to our predecessors and what we have received from them; it is not in our power to alter it; it is not in your power to reject it."

Writings were found which contained statements of the acts and doctrines of Jesus Christ. Some of them were generally known to have been the authentic works of the Apostles; others manifestly were not; others were of doubtful authority, whose readings were not alike. Of what use were they? Plainly, whatever contained the Word of God derived its authority from God. But the knowledge of the fact that this was God's Word, must depend upon testimony; and as we before saw, this infallible certainty must rest

upon the authority of an infallible witness. We, then, want the aid of an infallible witness: first, to tell us the fact which book is God's Word and which is not; and next to tell us the meaning of the doubtful passages in the book so found. If the Church is an infallible witness of the fact and of the meaning, the revelation is from God, the testimony from the Church; as, on Sinai, when God spoke to Moses and Moses reported to the people, the authority was that of God, the testimony that of Moses. None would hazard the assertion that Moses thus became the master of God. No person would say that the high priest and the Sanhedrim were the masters of God, because they explained the hard and doubtful expressions of the revelation which He made. No person would presume to say that the judiciary of the United States rules over Congress, because it explains the meaning of laws made by that body. No one will presume to say that it is from the judiciary the legislature derives its authority because the explanation of its authoritative acts is given to the judiciary. In like manner, the Church is not the mistress of the Word of God, because her testimony is given to establish the fact that "He said this," and the other fact that "this is the meaning which God always intended by this expression." Though I should, then, find it necessary to have the testimony of one infallible Church, to give me a certainty of what is divine Scripture, and what is its meaning, this does not set the Church above the Scriptures.

By the facts which we historically know, we see that Jesus Christ was God and that He established a Church. We see what that Church did; and we see, from its acts, that it claimed to be infallible in deciding religious controversies. We see that some such infallibility was always necessary and did always exist; and we, further, cannot understand how, if it did not exist in the Christian Church, the old prophecies could be accomplished; (yet we know them to have been divine;) and, without this infallibility,

e cannot discover how to discern the genuine from the purious books; nor how to be certain of the meaning of ny passage of Scripture. We, therefore, upon these grounds, elieve the great body of the bishops, in union with their ead will, with infallible certainty, testify to us the doc-rines of God. It is not, therefore, from the New Testament n the first instance that we derive our grounds for the elief of Church infallibility; neither is the New Testament ecessary to establish our conclusion. Yet we shall see that t is useful. We may view the Gospels either as uninspired istories or as an inspired work, containing the revelation f God. In the former case, we do not need the authority f the Church to inform us that they contain the Word f God; because the question in that case would not be oncerning their containing the revelations of God, but nerely regarding their general truth. Their general truth s perfectly consistent with some trivial errors, as to cir-umstances and opinions. This general or historic truth ight be established without the aid of an infallible witness.

Viewing the New Testament in this way, I could deduce om its facts and from passages contained in it abundant vidence of Church infallibility. But I prefer viewing the ospels and the Acts of the Apostles and the other parts s an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. or this purpose we do need such a witness as we have own the Church must necessarily be.

This witness tells us that the books which we usually enominate the New Testament contain the Word of God. Ve now come to examine that book, not to learn what e have before known, but to add to our stock of knowl-dge, either by finding more ample evidence of known facts r testimony for new facts or doctrines. We believe the octrine of infallibility; we look for testimonies to confirm s, not to give us any new doctrine on this head.

I open the Gospel of St. Matthew, where I read these ords of our Lord to St. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and pon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates

of hell shall not prevail against it."[1] Now, if this C can teach erroneous doctrines instead of God's truth, i be a prevailing of the gates of hell manifestly. Ther either Christ did not make this declaration, or that C cannot teach error. Again: Christ says of a man having been admonished in vain, is to be denounc the Church; and Christ gave the Church no aut except in matters of religion: "But, if he neglect to the Church let him be to thee as a heathen man publican."[2] This regarded religion; and nothing is of vital importance in religion than to know what God te Now, God would never have bound man to such obe to a Church which might tell him that God did no what He said: or that God did teach what He contra That God imposed the obligation is clear: therefore, is chargeable with the error if the Church leads me th Again, it is written: "And Jesus came and spake them, saying, All power is given unto Me, in heaven on earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, bap them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, a the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things soever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with always, even unto the end of the world."[3] I merely who are to teach the teachers? Is it the persons wh to learn from them? The text tells us that He who missioned them remains with them to preserve them teach: and this not for a short time only, but al even to the end of the world.

To omit several other passages, I shall confine r to a few. "But the Comforter, which is the Holy G whom the Father will send in My name, He shall you all things, and bring all things to your remembr whatsoever I have said unto you. . . . . But the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proc from the Father, He shall testify of Me. And ye, shall bear witness, because ye have been with Me

[1] Matt. c. xvi. v. 18. [2] Ib. c. xviii. v. 17. [3] Matt. c. xxviii. v.

beginning."[1] We here perceive two sorts of knowledge: That which was to be brought to their memory; this y were to be enabled to testify by the aid of the Comter, and because they were witnesses from the beginning. The new knowledge which the Holy Ghost was to give m at His descent. Hence, our Saviour promises of this red Spirit: "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He l guide you into all truth."[2]

In accord with this is the prayer of the Saviour: anctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth. Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I o sent them into the world. And for their sakes I ctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through truth. Neither pray I for these alone; but for them o which shall believe on Me through their word."[3] It s of this Spirit He spoke, when He said: "But ye ll receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come n you: and ye shall be witnesses to Me, both in usalem, and in Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the rmost part of the earth."[4] Thus they were to be a perent body of witnesses to testify the doctrines of God the whole world, and to the end of ages, always, to end of the world; and to aid them in this, the Holy ost was to be sent; who was to remind them of what ght have escaped their recollection, and to lead them erally into all truth that they might be able to teach se to whom they were sent, and who were commanded hear them as being sent by God to teach the things ich He commanded. Hence, the Apostle St. Paul calls s Church "the Church of the living God, the pillar and und of the truth."[5] We have seen that the Apostles clare "it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," where they plainly inform us of the fact that s sacred Spirit was present with them: and we see w long He was to remain—"that He may abide with you ever."

[1] c. xiv, v. 26; c. xv, v. 26. [2] Ib., c. xvi, v. 13. [3] Ib., c. xvii, v. 17, 18, 19. [4] Acts, c. i, v. 8. [5] I Tim., c. iii, v. 15.

Thus the Word of God confirms what reason showed to be necessary, and what the prophecies led us to expect; that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, infallibly lead us to a knowledge of what God has taught; and that God commands us to listen to her voice, and to receive her testimony.

The history of the Church is filled with the most authentic and clear words, which are sufficient to make it manifest that such was the Christian doctrine and practice from the beginning to the present day. To use the figure of a good writer on the subject: This accumulation of evidence stands like one of the great pyramids of Egypt, a monument of antiquity upon the sandy plain. Nor time nor the rage of elements can make any impression upon its durability; like the Arab who lifts his spear against it, is the sectarian who assails our Church; the mighty dead of ages repose within its capacious walls; its living inmates are protected from the fury of the Bedouin rover, who shivers his weapon into atoms at its base. After an hour of impotent fury he rides away and scarcely leaves a trace of his assault; perhaps enough to mark the record of his folly; another and another at intervals succeeds, each, like his predecessor, to pass in defeat away. Ages have rolled along; heresies have risen and died; the names of some survive the latest relics of their dissolved bodies; the assailants vary; their boasts, their efforts, their failures, are alike; whilst the mighty work reared by a heavenly hand remains still settling in solid permanency upon a base to which the promise of a God has secured unimpaired existence, till time shall be no more.

ON INTENTION.

I.

I HAVE received a pamphlet of about 70 pages, purporting to be letters of Mr. Thomas Waddell. The letters are five in number, and they are followed by an appendix of two pieces. The subjects of the letters are exceedingly various, and would require many more letters to answer the charges than were required to make them.

First, I have to thank Mr. Thomas Waddell for the very great courtesy of his manner. He and I, in all probability, never met, and certainly do not know each other; I had never written any thing to him or of him, when he vouchsafed to state that I "slipped off by a beggarly evasion from a subject on which I pretended to refute Bishop Bowen." And not content with paying me this as an incipient compliment, he kindly designates me "that scribe," who makes a "barefaced denial" of what is "fairly stated and applied" on "the doctrine of intention," and one whom he is not surprised at seeing in the use of "mean artifices," one of which is making "a false and impudent charge of misrepresentation" with a "shabby appearance." For these and sundry such compliments, he has my due acknowledgments and proper estimation.

He has required me, "that fox, to come out from his retreat and finish his work on that subject, by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining our theological meaning of the word intention, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome." I am perfectly at a loss to know upon what score Mr. Waddell could have made the above charges. In the first place, I never undertook to state in my remarks upon the Protestant catechism what the Catholic

doctrines were; I only stated that I would point out where the passages of the catechism were misrepresentations of those doctrines. I not only did not undertake to refute the prelate to whom I addressed the letters, but I distinctly stated in Letter I: "I seek no controversy upon the doctrinal differences of the two Churches. My object is to show that the Church of which I am a member has been misrepresented, villified and insulted." Thus, Mr. Waddell states the thing which is not the fact, when he asserts that I published my letters in the *Miscellany* for the purpose of a pretended refutation.

Again, he has, in other places, thought proper to charge me with denying the doctrine of the Church to which I belong.

I could not indeed expect to be treated otherwise by a writer who in the fifth page of his introduction says of such Roman Catholic priests as "have studied," as each of them is obliged to do, "the Scriptures, the Fathers, history, and general councils;" "neither can I acquit any of them from willful fraud and corrupt perjury, who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives. How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; or even their own creed, which they are sworn to teach them. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind that Satan has ever contrived."

I am not astonished at finding that the editors of the *Miscellany* have no ambition of Mr. Waddell's farther acquaintance, and can easily account for it, upon the same principle that creates the practical classifications and inter-

course of society. Happening to believe that it is possible for me to answer him without adopting his style, I shall endeavor to show that he is incorrect in stating as he does in p. 46:

"Your correspondent could not possibly expect to satisfy Bishop Bowen and other Protestants by this ridiculous conjecture; it is nothing more or less than a cunning fetch to deceive the ignorant and unwary by casting a cloud of darkness upon the plain word; so that his simple readers would think that when used by such profound theologians as Popish priests it was some technical scholastic term of deep theological import, too profound for simple readers ever to understand, even though Peter Lombard or Thomas Aquinas should attempt to explain it for them. When he would thus set them a gazing at the word with wonder and delight, he might escape from it to some other subject and dazzle their eyes with sophistry.

"Now, I put him and his brethren to the test, and defy them to show me that his Church attaches any meaning to the word different from that which it has in common acceptation. Whatever, therefore, his theological meaning of the word intention may be, the overwhelming conclusion must be admitted, if it be intention at all, in any sense of the word, which a school boy can conceive.

"I have long wished to see an explanation of this term, and I have been truly sorry that B. C.[1] has not favored the world with it. I have often been at a loss to know whether it be the virtual or actual intention, which is by his Church supposed to be necessary to the validity of her sacraments. If we could ascertain this, I think we would then be able to calculate, to some degree of certainty, the danger to which he says he is exposed by the occurrence of this defect. As he has never given us anything upon that subject, though he says the *Miscellany* is intended for the simple explanation of Catholic doctrines, and as we may rest assured that he never will, I have to enter upon an inquiry into the meaning of this important word myself—or rather into the meaning of

[1] One of Bishop England's favorite signatures.

the whole canon, that I may, if possible, ascertain what intention is required—whether the virtual intention, which consists in being free from a malicious or wanton design, or the actual intention to administer the sacrament aright, and confer the necessary grace. If I can thus arrive at his theological meaning of this word, I may then, it seems, be wiser, perhaps, than Bishop Bowen."

There is one reason which has frequently induced me to avoid giving to catechists of Mr. Waddell's description any reply to several of their inquiries respecting the religion which I profess. I had reason to believe that instead of seeking honestly for information they only sought an opportunity to dispute, and though Mr. Waddell may possibly question my veracity, yet I imagine, if I am not conscious, that I am averse to wrangling disputation. I believe there is good reason to question that a man who writes as he does seeks for information. He knows not whether I am a layman or a clergyman. In p. 8 he states: "I have never yet known a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." He could not seriously ask me for information, then, upon a subject on which he boasted superior knowledge. If I am a clergyman it will be seen from his published sentiments how completely it would be wasting my time to undertake giving him any explanations. Hence all his appeals to the charity, the zeal, the information of our members, whether lay or clerical, are too plainly seen to be mere flourishes, which have only the unmeaning appearance of desire for information. The editors of the *Miscellany*, well aware of this, felt no disposition to permit Mr. Waddell to indulge himself at the expense of their space, their money, and their readers.

But he has charged me with denying our doctrine and its consequences, and he has kindly furnished me with what I wanted before I could undertake to justify myself. In pp. 47–48 he gives me his notion of our doctrine. The little catechism did not give any description of what it imputed to us; but it asserted that certain consequences

hich it enumerated necessarily flowed from our doctrine. perceived that no such consequences could follow, and herefore I stated that there must be a misrepresentation or nisconception of what we held. The catechism did not give he description which he does, and therefore I could not xamine what was not produced. He, however, says that eing perhaps wiser than Bishop Bowen, he can go through he process of arriving at our theological meaning of the ord "intention," and he lays out the following process, . 47:

"This intention, the Catholic canon says, is the intention f doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does the Catholic Church do? She consecrates and dministers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by hem. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to lo what the Church has power to do, and what she actually loes—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform he sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by he work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if e does not think of the work and actually intend to do t, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still ndone. Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to hink of something else and permit his thoughts to wander rom his work, he would then fail of having this intention nd all would be null and void. That it is this actual ntention which the Catholic canon intends is evident by the xistence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed ith a view to guard as much as possible against the anger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of he necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch est the defect should occur through his carelessness or inad- ertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised bout his work, to exert this good intention at the critical ime. The Church surely could not have formed this canon ith a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious inten- ion to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a nalicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends

upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the canon, that the Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of the Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And, first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the Mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for a positive, malicious intention is not a defect, but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly

parallel; and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should anything therefore distract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see the theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which the Church supposes the priest may intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and His divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist; and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming through the whole form of the Mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done."

Now, the question is reduced to very narrow limits, and all will be resolved by merely ascertaining whether he has stated our doctrine correctly. If he has, I deserve his censure, and I was wrong when I stated that the catechism was a misrepresentation.

II.

The question between us is very simple; it is whether Mr. Waddell's description of our doctrine of intention is correct. That description he gives in page 47 of his pam-

phlet, in the phrases which I have copied. Upon the ordinary principles of testimony, it would be easy to arrive at a decision; but, as if aware of the facility to convict him in this manner, he at once impeaches the integrity of the witnesses. I need only refer to one passage of his as a sample of several. In p. 44, speaking of our doctrines, he asks how Protestant authors could learn them, and he answers:

"For these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near of kin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. To Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakespeare, may very fitly be applied:

> "'Why seek we truth from priests?
> A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
> And mourning of an heir,
> Are truths to what priests tell.
> Oh, why has priesthood privilege to lie,
> And yet to be believed?'"

Thus he will not allow me generally to produce Roman Catholic witnesses to state what are our doctrines. However, in p. 13, he quotes Cardinal Bellarmine as upholding his cause, and the cardinal was not a Roman Catholic writer in a Protestant country. I shall therefore take the witness whom he produces against me as my authority, and shall leave to his testimony the decision of the case between Mr. Waddell and B. C. Mr. Waddell says of him and of Gabriel Biel, p. 13:

"Thus writes Bellarmine, that most able and steady supporter of the papal cause; and none of the Catholic writers can invalidate the conclusion which he deduces from their doctrine, which is necessary, and is admitted by a greater authority than Bellarmine or Biel, even by the

Church herself, as is manifested by her consistent practice at the fountain head of Popery, where she can have her will, being there free from all control of the secular power."

Now I shall take Mr. Waddell's description of our doctrine, clause by clause, and compare it with the statements of the cardinal. He says, p. 47:

"This intention, the canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does the Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone."

He very correctly states that the canon requires that the celebrant shall have "the intention of doing what the Church does." But as soon as he proceeds to reason upon this statement, he draws a conclusion of his own, which is not contained in the premises that he has laid down He extends the meaning first to "doing what the Church has power to do," and he has thus changed the terms by substituting the phrase "has power to do" for the word "does." Mr. Waddell ought to know that a man who gives only one dollar might have power to give a million; that a governor who has power to pardon does sign a death warrant. Having made this false step, Mr. Waddell goes on to make another error by a similar process, against the principle of that philosophy which warns him not to conclude that all which a person has power to do is done by him.

Mr. Waddell says: "The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has the power to

do and what she actually does." I now quote from Bellarmine:

"Thirdly. An actual intention is not necessarily required, nor is an habitual one sufficient, but a virtual one is required, although persons should try to have an actual one. It is called actual when the minister has the intention with the very act: which intention indeed is not required," etc.

Now in the appendix Mr. Waddell had under his eye the very words of Bishop Hornihold.

"Q. How many kinds of intention are men capable of?

"A. Chiefly three, viz.: Actual, which is accompanied with an actual attention of the mind to the thing we are about. A virtual intention is when the actual intention is judged to remain in its force, by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time. An habitual intention is the faculty of performing a thing, obtained by a habit or custom, without any actual reflection or vital influence upon the work."

Mr. Waddell is also pleased to say that actual intention and virtual are perfectly synonymous. I can only say that divines are all in the habit of admitting the distinction; and if he pleased to say that by what we designate brown he means white, it is useless for us to converse, for our words only mislead. He can only find safety in confusing terms that he might be able to confound things and thus escape in the confusion; but this is a privilege which he cannot be allowed.

Mr. Waddell, then, is contradicted not only by Bellarmine and by Hornihold, but by all our divines, when he says, "the minister must have the actual intention." Nay, even Bellarmine refers to a passage of St. Thomas of Aquin, which would appear to require still less than he and Hornihold correctly state to be necessary.

Mr. Waddell says: "He must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually and to confer grace by the work."

He is by no means the first who made this statement; me generations have passed away since Cardinal Bellarine, writing upon the subject, stated of Tilman and Kemtz, in the chapter quoted before:

"Each author, in the cited places, says, that the Council Trent had defined, that the sacrament was not effected nless the minister should intend not only the act, but so the end of the sacrament, that is, should intend that r which the sacrament was instituted; which certainly iffers very much from our opinion."

Hornihold has the same in the appendix which Mr. Vaddell has given; he had there under his eye the folowing contradiction to what he asserts:

"Q. Is it necessary to intend the effect of the sacrament?

"A. No, otherwise heretics and pagans could not baptize alidly. It is sufficient to have an intention of doing what he Church of Christ does, without considering which is he true Church."

Bellarmine is quite unceremonious in the epithet which, n the fashion of his day, he bestows upon the assertion hich Mr. Waddell repeats:

"But this is a mere lie. Because the Council, through ie entire 11th canon, makes no mention of the end of ie sacrament; nor does the council say, as they would ppear to have understood, that the minister ought to ntend to do that which the Church intends, but that which ie Church does. Now that which the Church does signies not the end but the action."

Bellarmine then proceeds to show that the Church conders valid the baptism conferred by several who err greatly oncerning the end, to attain which this sacrament is conerred, and who of course have no intention of producing n end which they look upon to be unattainable.

Thus, Mr. Waddell is again contradicted by both Belarmine and Hornihold. He proceeds farther in his descripion. "If he does not believe he can do this, [confer race *by the work,] and* actually intend to do it, he has

not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone." In page 48, he again describes this defect. "Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and His divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist." I shall observe that he would think very correctly; and if he were to imagine that what has previously existed and continues to exist, commenced only just now to exist, he would imagine an absurdity. When Mr. Waddell put this absurdity as the Catholic doctrine, he was grossly ignorant or grossly criminal. I should hope it is the former. Catholics say and believe that what previously existed might become present at a point where it previously was not. And this they believe to be common sense, not contradiction. Mr. Waddell's object is to show that if a priest loses his belief he cannot intend to do that which he does not believe possible; and that, of course, want of faith or of correct belief in the minister argues want of sufficient intention and destroys the sacrament. In p. 49 he states: "As therefore this actual intention may be wanting through unbelief, carelessness or inattention, we may, I think, ascertain pretty nearly the degree of the danger to which the Church says her children are exposed, by the fatal occurrence of this woful defect; for how easily may it thus occur!" In his description of intention, then, he says, that we require in the ministry correct belief respecting the sacrament or its effects.

Let us have recourse to Cardinal Bellarmine, to see how he agrees with Mr. Waddell in attributing this doctrine to our Church. In chap. xxvi of the book previously cited, he states the question for examination thus: "Whether either faith or charity is to be necessarily required, so that heretics, infidels, schismatics, or wicked Catholics cannot confer sacraments, ... if that which faithless or wicked men do be invalid, though otherwise they be lawfully ordained priests or bishops, and do not omit any of those things which belong to the essence of the sac

ents." Upon this question Bellarmine states that there
ared to be scarcely any, if at all any, difference between
olics and Luther and Calvin, etc., for that they all
ar to be agreed that neither faith, which is correct
f, nor morality, is required in the minister, in order
he validity of the sacraments. It is true that Luther
es in his book, "De Mis. Priv. et Unct. Sacerd." that
he devil came in human shape and was ordained, the
aments conferred by him would be valid. I trust Mr.
ldell will not require of Roman Catholics to go so far.
n the same chapter, Bellarmine proceeds to state not
the Catholic doctrine; that defect of faith or of cor-
belief in the minister does not injure the sacrament
h he administers; but he gives the catalogue and his-
of those condemned by the Church at several periods
teaching that such faith was necessary to the validity
he sacrament. He mentions some Asiatics in the third
ury, of whom Eusebius informs us in book vii, of his
ry; they are also mentioned by Denis of Alexandria.
e Africans in the same century whom the same his-
n mentions, and of whom St. Augustine relates in chap.
f his book ii, on Baptism, that they received their opinion
Agrippinus, the predecessor of St. Cyprian in the see
Carthage. The Donatists also fell into this error, and
combated upon that as well as other points by St.
ustine. St. Jerome counts it amongst the errors of the
iferians. It was condemned by several Popes, amongst
m are Stephen I, who died about the year 258, Siricius,
died at the close of the succeeding century, Innocent
who died about twenty years later, Leo I, about the
dle of the fifth age, and Anastasius II, at its termina-
. Mr. Waddell might also have found upon inquiry
it was condemned at the first Council of Nice in
as well as the first of Carthage in 348. The first
ncil of Arles held in the year 314 made a decree
nst the principle in its eighth canon. My object not
y *to prove the* correctness of our doctrine, but its

misrepresentation by Mr. Waddell and Mr. Waddell ha made an effort to deprive me of the benefit of my witn as well as having denied my own competency to te the doctrines taught by my Church, I have used ag him the only witness to whom he appeared not to ol and upon whose works I could lay my hand. I have access to those of Biel. I believe, I have then establi by this testimony three substantial errors in Mr. Wadd description of our doctrine of intention. It will also seen that Bishop Hornihold in Mr. Waddell's own appe contradicts Mr. Waddell here also, because he admits every Catholic must, that the baptism conferred by her and infidels is valid, provided they observe what Cl instituted, though neither of them has correct belief faith. Thus Mr. Waddell not only attributed to us our doctrine, what our Church condemns as gross e but he did so with the evidence of its contradiction u his eye; and he very fortunately published that evide

He makes a fourth assertion equally incorrect, p. "Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think something else, and permit his thoughts to wander f his work, he would then fail of having this intention, all would be null and void." He then asserts our trine to be that the existence of distraction or inadvert would destroy the sacrament by destroying the requ intention. He therefore charges us with holding: 1. actual advertence and attention are required for a suffi intention. 2. That consequently where the minister without this actual attention, the sacrament is not confer If I prove the second or consequential proposition to untrue, the first will necessarily be untrue. I shall, h ever, first show that I do not overstrain his mean Immediately after the passage above quoted he conti to develop his meaning.

"Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to th of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander f his work, he would then fail of having this intention

would be null and void. That it is this actual inten-
which the Church's canon intends, is evident by the
tence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed
h a view to guard as much as possible against the
ger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of
necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch
t the defect should occur through his carelessness or
dvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised
out his work, to exert this good intention at the critical
ne."

Now, having previously shown Mr. Waddell's assump-
n "that it is this actual intention which our canon
tends," to be not only arbitrary but untrue, and the
tual attention or advertency not being required except
r actual intention, it necessarily follows that its ab-
nce will not be fatal, because the virtual attention which
not destroyed by a little distraction or inadvertency will
sufficient for the virtual intention that suffices in the
inister of the sacraments.

Allow me here to exemplify. I shall at present confine
yself to the definitions which I find in Mr. Waddell's
rn pamphlet. In p. 46 he states the common meaning
the word intention; but I presume there is an error
the press. He writes of Bishop Bowen thus: "For
could not without doing the Catholic Church an injury,
ppose for a moment that she means by the word inten-
n, something quite different from design or purpose,
hich is the meaning the word always has in common
ceptation." Johnson gives three meanings in which the
ord might be used, the second of which is design:
rpose. I now accept the word purpose as expressing the
rrect meaning of the word which has so much perplexed
r. Waddell. In Mr. Waddell's appendix he inserts Horn-
old's definition of actual intention as distinguished from
rtual; in this distinction we must find the character by
hich they are to be discerned. Hornihold says that "the
tual intention is accompanied with an actual attention of

mind to the things we are about." And this alone is the characteristic by which it is distinguished from virtual intention: as long as this actual attention or advertency exists, so long does the actual intention exist, and no longer. This attention or advertency ceases, but the purpose or "intention is judged to remain in force by not being expressly retracted or interrupted by too long a time." Here then is what Hornihold calls "virtual intention," which clearly exists without any actual attention or advertency of the mind at the present moment. We may easily suppose that a slight distraction of the mind from contemplating its original purpose, to the contemplation of some other object caused this want of attention. Yet the agent is fairly judged to retain his original purpose, because it has not been expressly retracted nor too long interrupted. There is therefore no actual attention where there exists only a virtual intention, as our doctrine is that if virtual intention suffices for the validity of the sacrament, it necessarily follows that actual attention is not necessary, though desirable and becoming in the minister.

Yet Mr. Waddell is good enough to tell us that "actual and virtual intention as used here by the bishop are precisely synonymous." I am to suppose that he thinks so, and of course I can easily know the value of his arguments.

I shall now examine what a few of our divines say respecting the necessity of this actual attention for the validity of the sacrament. Bellarmine informs us (in cap. xxvii, lib. 1, "De Sac. in Gen.") treating of actual intention: "It only requires that a man be present with his mind and do attentively what he performs, for that is called intention in act, as Cajetan says; and as we have said, it is not necessarily required, because it is not in our power, but that our thoughts might sometimes be distracted even when we perform most holy things."

Thus Bellarmine gives us actual attention as the character of actual intention, and states that it is not required. Respecting virtual intention he writes: "It is called virtual

hen because of some wandering of the mind, an actual ıtention does not now exist; yet it was in existence a ıort time before and the act is done in virtue thereof; and ll agree that if an actual intention does not exist this is equired and suffices."

Thus Bellarmine distinguishes what Mr. Waddell con-ounds and contradicts Mr. Waddell's assertion that actual ttention is necessary for that intention which suffices for ıe validity of a sacrament.

Mr. Waddell has asserted that according to the doctrine f the Roman Catholic Church sacraments were not validly onferred if the minister had not an actual intention of onferring them at the very time of the administration; or, f having such intention, he did not intend to confer grace y the work; or, if he was at the time an unbeliever in he doctrines of the Church regarding the nature or effects f the sacraments conferred; or, if through carelessness or nadvertency he at the critical time permitted his thoughts to ander from his work. His assertions are altogether untrue, nd each of them is contradicted by every Catholic writer pon the subject. He has chosen Bellarmine and Hornihold, nd I have confined myself to them; but they agree with ll the others in contradiction to Mr. Waddell. Yet Mr. Vaddell modestly informs us at the conclusion of his fifth etter to the editors of the *Miscellany:*

"I could, indeed, detect you on any point in the con-roversy, so as to know whether you stated your doctrine ıirly or unfairly, or whether you denied it or not without book at all. But this would not be sufficient in con-roversy to expose or silence you, or to convince others ıat you dealt unfairly; for it would be necessary in such case to quote your authorities verbatim. For this purpose would require more books of the kind than I have at resent were I engaged to go through the whole course of ıe controversy with you; but I have no occasion for any ooks to instruct me in your doctrine; for I know every oint of it as well as you do yourselves, and this knowl-

edge I have at present by a certain faculty called memory. This you very well know might be the case when you made the above ungenerous insinuation; for I did not say that I had no books of the kind, or that I had never read any. All your italics heretofore and your three little capitals amount to nothing, and serve no other purpose than to satisfy your simple readers. Since you have made this foul insinuation, however, I shall shortly let you know whether I have detected your misstatements or not; for however indecorous it may seem to address you again in the way of controversy, after your refusal to meet me upon any subject, I cannot let you escape with this foul insinuation and your false statements. I shall cite you before the public again and make the charge good; and then you may answer for your conduct if you can, or suffer judgment to pass against you by default.

"It is however, after all, no disparagement to your parts or learning that you have fallen before the fatal touch; for who can contend with fate and unanswerable questions? But truly your honor and honesty must be called in question. You must know that you are laboring by foul means to support a bad cause and to deceive unwary souls."

I would advise Mr. Waddell in future to have a little less confidence in his memory and more recourse to books. I might here close my case, satisfied that I have proved all that I cared to accomplish, which is, that Mr. Thomas Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of intention. But I shall examine a little farther into the contents of his very extraordinary pamphlet.

III.

Having shown that Mr. Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of intention, I now state what I believe to be the fact, that he did not himself understand it. I also admit that the consequences which he drew from his misconception would generally flow from such a principle as he attributed to us; but as the principle is not ours, neither can the con-

sequences be, on that account, charged to us. I might, as I before stated, here close my case. But there are a few other passages in Mr. Waddell's production which it will not be amiss to notice.

He states in his "Introductory," p. viii:

"I have often thought that the argument of uncertainty drawn from the doctrine of intention has not been so generally and so exclusively urged in the controversy as it ought to have been. It had indeed been sometimes called in as an auxiliary, when the arguments were sufficient without its aid. I have never before seen it used as a principal except once, when it was tried upon a renegade missionary sent from Rome to Ireland in consequence of a challenge which he offered to all Protestants, ministers especially; and, like the heroes of the *Miscellany*, he stood dumb before it. It is an argument with which few Protestants are acquainted, and I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention."

Indeed, Mr. Waddell's reading upon the subject cannot be very extensive; for a great many Protestant writers have, without as much boasting as his, put forward the argument with far more ingenuity than he has done; and I have seldom found a Protestant even tolerably imbued with the spirit of controversy who has not been as fully acquainted with it as he appears to be; that is, he mistook its nature and urged his argument as unanswerable because of his mistake. I have met several of this description, and I do not recollect one of them who did not, as Mr. Waddell has, when I endeavored to disabuse him, assure me that he knew the doctrines of my Church better than I did myself, or if I knew them as well as he did, that I disguised or denied them. Will Mr. Waddell blame me when I assure him that after such a declaration I leave the field to the hero who makes it, unless there should be some weighty and sufficient cause upon other grounds for my continuing therein? Perhaps the editors of the *Miscellany*

have similar feelings, and it would argue some charity in Mr. Waddell to attribute their silence, as well as that of the gentleman whom he calls "a renegade," rather to this than to the cause which he has assigned.

"I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture to deceive the ignorant and to save their cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the *Catholic Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they gave for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable and their cause untenable."

"To pose the heroes of the *Miscellany* in short metre," Mr. Waddell has quoted Bellarmine. Will he excuse me for stating the grounds of my belief that he never read Bellarmine's works? I do not wish to come unnecessarily to the conclusion that he printed a deliberate falsehood; if he read that author he would have seen in the places quoted by me before, and in other places of his work, that the argument founded upon misrepresenting the doctrine of intention was used as a principal by several Protestant writers. I can as easily conceive that his imagination deludes him regarding the extent of his theological acquirements as it does regarding the nature of our doctrines.

I shall now take up the quotation which he makes from the cardinal; and it is somewhat curious to observe that one should not be produced from these books where he was writing expressly upon the subject, but one garbled from the midst of a paragraph upon another question in another book;

the isolated piece becomes thus ambiguous. He refers to Bellarmine, Lib. iii, de Justificatione, cap. 8. His reference is imperfect for he omits the book, and his quotation is but the tail of a sentence, and he gives the original of only a piece of that tail; however, this is the place in which the words are found. Bellarmine's third book is entitled "Qui est de incertitudine, mutabilitate et inæqualitate justitiæ," which means, "concerning the uncertainty, the changeableness, and the inequality of righteousness."

The cardinal was defending the doctrine of the Church on those points, which doctrine is: 1. That no individual can be certain, without a special revelation, that he is in a state of righteousness. 2. That a righteous man might fall into sin again and become a reprobate. 3. That there are various degrees of righteousness, at the same time, in several just persons; as also that there might be various degrees thereof, at different times, in the same individual. In the eighth chapter of this book he is arguing in support of the first of these doctrines, and answering persons who asserted that, even besides the case of special revelation, a man can know with the certainty of faith that he is in a state of righteousness.

In the fifth paragraph of the chapter an argument is taken up by him, which might be thus condensed: "You have the certainty of faith that God gives His grace and justification to those who receive the sacraments with proper dispositions. But you can know when you have so received the sacraments. Therefore you can have the certainty of faith that you have been justified and are now righteous." In his answer to this, Bellarmine first denies that any man can know, without a special revelation, that he has received the sacraments with proper dispositions; and next says that he cannot have the certainty of faith that he has received a true sacrament; and thus, although the first proposition be known with the certainty of faith, the second has not the evidence required as a basis for faith, and the man who imagined himself well disposed might have labored

under a delusion; thus there was not a certainty of faith. In the second paragraph of the chapter, the cardinal had thus stated what is required for such a certainty:

"Nothing can be certain with the certainty of faith, unless it be either immediately contained in the Word of God, or be deduced therefrom by evident consequence: because it is not faith unless it rests upon the authority of the divine Word."

Now, we are not to confound the certainty of faith which requires the basis of the Word of God, or revelation, with every other description of certainty; and in ascertaining the meaning of any author, we must use his words in the sense which he attaches to them himself. Bellarmine, in chap. ii of the same book, gives us six descriptions of certainty, under two classes; one class is under the head evident, which arises from either mental or sensible perception; the other obscure, which arises, 1, from divine revelation, 2, from human testimony, and 3, from circumstances. Thus, besides faith, the author gives us five other grounds upon which we might build our certainty. Seeing his object and his language, let us now look to the quotation:

"But perhaps Catharinus might answer, that perfect conversion and penance are not necessarily required, except without the sacrament; but that, together with the sacrament, it is sufficient if no obstacle be placed. But neither can any one be certain, with the certainty of faith, that he does not put an obstacle, for by reason of his gross ignorance, he might bear an affection to sin; neither can he be certain, with the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament, since the sacrament might be without the intention of the minister, and no one can see the intention of another."

I have here given the passage at length; the object of Bellarmine was to prove as I before stated, that no man can without special revelation, which would, as being the Word of God, give him a ground for faith, know with *the certainty* of faith that he was righteous. We know

faith what things are required for the existence of a sacrament; but it is not by faith, but by other motives of credibility, that we are assured of the existence of those requisites. Intention is one of those requisites; we do not know of its existence by faith, but we can have that certainty by circumstances, which is according to Bellarmine a good ground of certainty, but not of the certainty of faith; because founded upon revelation. In denying then that we have the certainty of faith, he is far from asserting that we have no certainty; yet this is what Mr. Waddell has assumed, p. 13—he draws an universal conclusion from particular premises:

"This uncertainty, the inevitable consequence of Catholic doctrine, is admitted by some of their most celebrated divines. 'No priest that celebrateth can know evidently whether he be a priest, because he cannot know evidently whether he be baptized or lawfully ordained.' And Cardinal Bellarmine tells us why: 'No man,' says he, 'can be certain, by the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament; because it depends upon the intention of the minister, and none can see another man's intention.'"

Mr. Waddell, then, must feel that he has given to Bellarmine a meaning which Bellarmine never intended. The cardinal does not say, that the sacrament "depends upon the intention of the minister." When he uses the words "intentionem alterius nemo videre possit"—"No one can see the intention of another," I apprehend Mr. Waddell does not give to the word "videre," "see," the meaning which the cardinal did. In the sixth paragraph of his chap. ii, he explains himself thus: "Certitudo evidens est earum rerum quæ aliquo modo videntur"—"Certainty evident is of those things which are in some manner seen." In this class he places: first, principles; next, the evident consequences of first principles; lastly, that which is under the cognizance of well regulated senses. "Certitudo obscura est earum rerum quæ sola fide, vel opinione nituntur"—"Certainty obscure is of those things which rest only on faith

or on opinion." In this class he places: knowledge derived first from the testimony of God; next from human testimony; then, from circumstances. This explanation is the key which he gives to the meaning of his words throughout the book; "evidens" and "videre," "evident" and "see," then regard only the first class but not the second. We cannot see the intention of another person, for it is not a first principle, nor a consequence of that principle, nor does it come in its own immediate form under the cognizance of our senses. Neither can we know it generally from the testimony of God, but from the testimony of men and from circumstances. Hence though a person cannot see the intention of another, he might know its existence with certainty; though neither with the certainty of faith, nor with the certainty of evidence. Thus, neither Bellarmine or Biel would admit the assumption, "That we are uncertain of the existence of our sacraments;" because we have two grounds, either of which will assure us of their existence, though the special fact in each particular case is not an article of faith. Every reasonable man is perfectly certain of the truth of hundreds of facts, which, though neither first principles, nor their evident consequences, nor having come under the cognizance of his senses, nor yet having been revealed by God, still are sustained by motives of credibility which produce infallible certainty.

When Mr. Waddell adds this to the four egregious blunders which he made in his description of the meaning of the word intention, as described before, probably I may leave to himself to appreciate the value of his compilation.

I stated that I accepted the English word "purpose" as expressing the meaning of the Latin technical word "intentio," or that which in our language is more equivocal, intention. In Mr. Waddell's pamphlet, p. 12, he states that a canon is found upon the subject in the proceedings of the Council of Florence; his words are: "This canon is found *in the* Council of Florence and that of Trent." The canon

of which he makes this statement, he describes thus, p. 11: "According to a certain canon, Catholics are bound to believe that 'the efficacy of every sacrament depends upon the intention of the officiating minister;' so that if he should fail of having this necessary intention, the apparent sacrament is null and void." Now, perhaps Mr. Waddell will think it, to use his own polite language, "knavery," "a pious fraud," "a shameful denial," when I inform him that the Council of Florence made no such canon, nor is any canon of our Church couched in such phrases, though he was so accurate as to place them between inverted commas. The Council of Trent indeed made a canon upon the subject which Mr. Waddell quotes accurately in a note to p. 12, but the Council of Florence did not. However, Pope Eugenius IV, who remained at Florence after the departure of the Greeks, together with some of the cardinals and bishops of the Latin Church continued the sessions in 1439, for the purpose of receiving into communion some of the Armenian Eutychians, and upon their reconciliation, the Pope in his decree of instruction did, in treating of the sacraments, mention the necessity of the intention of the minister, besides the matter and form, to constitute a sacrament. I state this, not charging Mr. Waddell with being guilty of misrepresentation in this place, but merely to show him that besides "a certain faculty called memory," a certain quality called information is necessary for a person who undertakes to write upon these subjects. His appendix even would have taught him this. But perhaps he does not know the difference between a decree and a canon.

"Q. What are we to believe as to the matter and form of the sacraments, and how they are to be conceived?

"A. Eugenius IV, in his decree, in the Council of Florence, which was held in the year 1439, declares that every sacrament requires matter, form and intention of doing what the Church does."

I now come to the "simple explanation" of our doc-

trine which Mr. Waddell has so completely enveloped in his effort to show it sustaining his conclusions.

The whole doctrine may be thus expressed: "It is required that in the creation or administration of the sacraments the minister shall use the elements and the words in a reasonable manner, for a Christian purpose."

I shall take one sacrament as an exemplification, baptism. Pope Eugenius states that three things are necessary, the matter (water), the form (the words), and the intention of the minister (the purpose). I shall now give a few instances where the matter and the form would be applied to the proper subject, and yet no sacrament be conferred, because of the want of intention or purpose.

1. A priest desires to show the sponsors how they ought to attend, and tells them that he will rehearse the ceremony, but not baptize the child at present; he then uses the water and repeats the words for the purpose of making them acquainted with the manner of proceeding, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament.

2. One minister is desirous of teaching another how to confer the sacrament; and for this purpose, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament, he seriously and deliberately goes through the whole rite, using the elements and the words.

3. A person undertakes to mimic the ceremony, and uses the water and the words to amuse those present, but not for the purpose of baptizing.

4. At a theatre a baptism is to be represented; the matter and the form are used, but not for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, conforming to the institution of Christ, but for the purpose of representation.

5. A person intends to administer the sacrament, and actually commences, but is requested to defer it for a few hours, consents, but still, for the purpose of instructing the sponsors or others, goes through the remainder of the ceremony.

6. A person during his dream, or a somnambulist, uses

the matter and form upon an unbaptized subject which is near him.

7. A person stupidly drunk.

8. A person who is an idiot or crazy.

9. An ignorant person might use the matter and form for the purpose of procuring the bodily health of a child without even knowing that it was ever a Church ceremony.

In these and a variety of other cases there are the matter and form but there is not the intention; the sacrament is not conferred, hence it has always been held in the Church that the existence of matter and the intention of doing what the Church does are necessary. And Mr. Waddell had under his eye, in his appendix, the very words of Hornihold, to show what our meaning was.

"Q. In what cases is there a defect of a sufficient intention?

"A. If a minister performs the work in a ludicrous manner; if he is asleep, drunk or mad; he has either no intention or only an habitual one."

All that we require is that it shall be a reasonable act done for the purpose of religion, that is, for the purpose of doing what the Church does. This also Mr. Waddell saw in his appendix from Hornihold.

"Q. What intention is required in the minister?

"A. In the first place, intention in general is a volition or act of determining of a thing by the means; it is requisite to every rational action, and much more to every religious action."

Mr. Waddell gave the canon of the Council of Trent, in p. 12, pretty correctly. He only omitted the words "at least." "If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer sacraments the intention, at least, of doing what the Church does, is not required; let him be anathema." I cannot conjecture what his object in omitting those words "at least" could have been, except to destroy the distinction which we admit between two persons who both validly confer sacraments, viz.: The minister who knew

and believed and gave actual and willing attention with a desire to procure grace for the recipient; and the careless infidel who looked upon the ceremony to be idle and vain, but who nevertheless went through it for the purpose of religion, or of doing what the Church does. Our doctrine is that each of those persons confers the sacrament, but the Church exhorts her clergy and others to have the first and better disposition. There are several intermediate dispositions of mind between those two; it is useless to describe them. These are the two extremes, and in each, as well as in all the intermediate cases, there exists a sufficient intention for securing the validity of the sacrament, because in all these cases the minister acts for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, for the purpose of performing a Christian rite. All our authors agree that it is not necessary for the minister himself to believe the rite holy, or efficacious, or even useful; but that it is sufficient if he should do the act for the purpose of administering a rite which Christians consider holy.

I shall now suppose a man who has even a malicious disposition called upon by a parent to baptize his child. The parent believing the rite to be of divine institution and destined to remove original sin, beseeches this person to administer that baptism which Christ instituted. He is answered by the person to whom he applies that the whole is an idle and useless ceremony, and the person strives to dissuade the parent from its performance; the parent answers that he is otherwise convinced, and entreats this person to perform it. Thus urged the infidel complies, uses the water and pronounces the words in accordance with the request of the parent. Is it not manifest that whatever his own private malice might be his act was in compliance with the parent's request, and that the purpose was to perform the Christian rite? I may be told that in his soul he wished to prevent the effects of the rite. My answer is, that his act was for a purpose which was determined by the circumstances, and he had no control over them; he might have

desired to destroy the effect of the Saviour's institutions, but the providence of God saved them from the power of his malice. The mercy of heaven is not made subject to his indiscretion, but is administered according to the institutions of the Saviour; of them he is a minister but not a despot. He may refuse to act, but if he acts for a particular purpose it is impossible that he should not act for that purpose; to suppose otherwise would be to suppose a contradiction. The matter and the form of the sacraments might be used for a variety of purposes; but when used for the purpose instituted by Christ, then and only then they form a sacrament. This is the language of our Church, and I believe it is the language of common sense. In this view, though we have not the certainty of faith, or that which arises from divine revelation, for the existence of a sacrament in each special case, nor the certainty of evidence in the scholastic meaning of the word as before laid down, we can have what is usually called evidence, in the ordinary use of words, for we can have that certainty which arises from human testimony and from circumstances.

Mr. Waddell will then perceive that it was from the want of knowing our doctrine of intention he charged upon us that state of uncertainty, in the consequences of which he triumphs.

"Such then being their state of uncertainty and misery with respect to their sacraments, how can they possess peace of mind for a moment? And how can we look upon a Church as infallible, and a sure guide to heaven, which involves all her children in such miserable circumstances, that they can never know whether they be Christians or whether the clergy be true priests or Christians at all? How deplorable and miserable must their condition be if this doctrine be true! And how poor must be their chance for salvation! What an awful amount of sin and damage may one of their 'lay priests' be the cause of to thousands, who may attend upon him continually! All his

consecrations so many nullities, causing the continual practice of idolatry by himself, and the unfortunate creatures who attend upon him; all his absolutions so many deceptions, leaving the people still in their sins. And how much damage may be done even by a true priest through the want of due intention in his ministrations, none of them can know. Through the fatal and frequent occurrence of this woful defect, many of his apparent marriages may be mere nullities—states of licensed concubinage; many of his apparent baptisms may be mere nullities, leaving the poor children in a state of something below the level of heathenism, out of whtch they can never rise. And these children, by getting into the priesthood in their turn, may be the ministers of damnation to thousands and tens of thousands, who may have the misfortune to attend upon them. And suppose some of these blank priests should get into bishoprics, how much more sin and destruction might be caused by them! No mind can conceive half the amount; for they might send out a number of sacrilegious pretenders, to deceive the multitude, who would be lost by hundreds and by thousands, by worshiping false Hosts and receiving false absolutions, from their pretending priests, who would fall and perish with their people, all through the occurrence of this fatal defect, in some careless or dishonest bishop, priest, doctor, old woman, or some other person, in the long lapse of eighteen hundred years. Thus the devastation once commenced by one blank bishop might proceed with the celerity of geometrical progression, and in a few generations might unpriest a whole nation. Thus the Church in the plenitude of her infallibility, has plunged her children in an awful abyss of uncertainty and misery, and so their infallibility has undermined itself, and ruined its advocates. Live as they will, they can never know whether they be Christians or not, or whether their practices be lawful, or wicked and ruinous. How melancholy and distressing must the consideration of these doleful and fearful truths be to every thoughtful, feeling heart!

"But their priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, oblations, ordinations and consecrations as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency! Only by the fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences."[1]

Mr. Waddell has here some semblance of correct reasoning, for we do not believe in the doctrine which he describes as ours.

IV.

I shall now examine how far Mr. Waddell was accurate or correct in his extracts from the Rubrics of our Missal and his comments upon them.

He says that it was not a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament the canon which required intention regarded. To sustain this position he asserts that a positive malicious intention is not a defect but a property, and as the Rubric of the Missal treats only of defects, it could not mean malicious intention, for that would not be properly considered a defect. Now, his translation of the words of the Missal will, I apprehend, be sufficient to correct his mistake: the words of the Missal are, "Si quis non intendit conficere, sed delusorie aliquid agere"—"if a person do not intend to make (a sacrament,) but to do something in a delusive way," or as he translates it, "If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter." In all these expressions we have the defect of a proper intention, viz.: "If a person do not intend to consecrate," i. e., not purpose to do what Christ instituted and the Church does; but we have also the positive purpose of cheating or bantering, which on such an occasion must be positively malicious. Thus, where a man instead of doing an act of religion, intends to cheat or banter, he has a malicious intention. It was on Mr. Waddell's part a mistake to say that he had not.

[1] Pp. 14-15.

In the case of wafers forgotten upon the altar, he tells us "for as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted to consecrate only the wafers he had noticed."

Mr. Waddell again asserts here, as if upon the authority of the Missal, that it is because of the want of actual intention the consecration failed. This is another mistake; I shall help Mr. Waddell's "faculty called memory," by quoting from the very head of the Rubric which he garbles:

"4. If the intention be not actual at the very consecration because of some wandering of the mind, but virtual when the person going to the altar intends to do what the Church does, the sacrament is produced, yet the priest should carefully endeavor to bring with him an actual intention."

Mr. Waddell is very unfortunate in conceiving wrong notions of our doctrine and making very unwarrantable conclusions, because of his mistakes. He speaks of "one forgotten particle which is mingled with those placed for consecration," and seen amongst them, which of course every priest intends to consecrate according to the direction of the Missal, which he is so careful as not to notice: "Every priest ought always have such intention, viz., that of consecrating all those which he has placed before him for consecration." The direction follows immediately after the passage respecting eleven Hosts, where he imagined there were only ten. The case which Mr. Waddell imagines of a forgotten wafer mingling with the others is not in the Missal.

The case there described is that of particles which are not so mingled and which do not at any time become mingled with those placed separately for consecration; but

uich in the preparation of the altar might have been
d aside upon some part of it, different from that where
ose for consecration are placed; and which it was
ended to remove, but which through forgetfulness had
t been taken away. If previous to the consecration
ey did get mingled with the others which the priest
d for consecration, they would be consecrated, for they
uld be seen with others, and his purpose was to con-
crate all which he saw in that place, but if they were
gotten on a remote part of the altar, they would not
consecrated, upon the same principle that those lying
lden would fail of being consecrated.

They who are in the habit of officiating at the altar
uld inform Mr. Waddell that there are a variety of
es in which a Host might be hidden. I shall give one
stance which shall be sufficient. The particles to be
nsecrated are laid upon a small cloth called a corporal,
cause the corpus or body rests upon it; in preparing
e altar and placing this cloth some particles might lie
lden under it and not be noticed by the clergyman,
ving fallen there without being observed, and as not
ing known could not be forgotten. The plain purpose
the priest is to consecrate all that he placed upon the
rporal; to this his ministry is directed, he has no
ther object. He has performed this duty, he has given
mmunion, he has removed the remaining particles from
the corporal, if any be there: he now proceeds to
d the corporal itself and finds that some unconsecrated
rticles lay under it, others lay at a distance from it,
gotten and overlooked; he never proposed to consecrate
y of them, he knew nothing of them. The Missal says
ey are not consecrated: it is only the language of com-
on sense; for when a religious act is to be performed
must like all other acts be done in a reasonable manner.
hen anything is to be consecrated it must be designated,
d the effect of the consecrating process does not go beyond
boundary of the designation. Suppose a clergyman is

asked to baptize two children; they are presented him, pointed out, designated and named; he proceeds to the baptism, and without any intimation to him, altogether without his knowledge, a third child is placed so as that the water shall flow upon it from the body of one of those whom he intends to baptize; the water flows whilst he uses the words, without any reference to this child, of whose presence he is perfectly unconscious. I hope Mr. Waddell would not say religion requires it is reasonable to assert that this third child was validly baptized. Suppose this child, so surreptitiously introduced, dies immediately; it is now too late to administer a sacrament. Had the clergyman known of the existence of the concealed child, he would have baptized it; it was the child of a dear friend; one of those baptized was the child of an enemy, to whom he bears a deadly malice, whose child he would keep from heaven if he could. Now, we would say that his affection cannot supply to the dead child what it has not received, nor can his malice prevent in the living child the effects of that ministry of divine institution in which he has officiated.

I trust Mr. Waddell will perceive that this is only the language of common sense which the Missal uses, when it states that a clergyman does not consecrate particles which he either removed from those selected for use but forgot to remove from the altar, nor particles of whose existence he knew nothing, because of their being hidden under the cloth, or the book, or in any other way.

But let us see Mr. Waddell's object. It is to infer that because these are not consecrated, therefore we cannot be certain that the particles upon the corporal are consecrated, because as the clergyman did not intend to consecrate the forgotten and hidden, it is also possible that he did not intend to consecrate those which he saw, and to which he referred his acts. We have, as in the case of the children, the certainty arising from all the circumstances, of the intention to act, and of the actual agency in the one case, whilst

we have upon the same grounds the certainty that he had no purpose of acting and no rational agency in the other. And yet Mr. Waddell would expect, with this evidence of a difference between the two cases, that we should not draw any distinction between them!

I now come to the last case which Mr. Waddell takes from our Missal: "If he have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant, consecration fails, because intention is required." He states: "If he should by misreckoning or any other way think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven," etc. Now, it is impossible that Mr. Waddell could have read the Missal when he makes the assertion, that this regards a case of mistake by misreckoning, because the next paragraph, 2, which he does not quote, takes up the very case of such a mistake, and informs us that the consecration is valid. The case is thus described: "If the priest, thinking that he held only one Host, should, after consecration, find that there were two joined together, let him receive both together," etc.

Here we see that the mistake regarding the number would not invalidate the consecration. What, then, is the former case? It is what Mr. Waddell says it is not. He says: "They would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them; not because he had a wanton wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate." Such, as we have repeatedly seen, is not the fact. The case would be exactly parallel to this: Eleven children are placed for baptism; a person pours water on all the eleven, saying, "I baptize ten of you," etc. The act is not that of a rational being, it is not a consistent, it is a foolish, or a wanton, or a wicked one. Could Mr. Waddell point out any of the children that was baptized? From the circumstances, it is plain that the man's purpose was not to baptize but to banter. There is no consecration in the ther case, as *there is no* baptism in this case.

I have to remark, that in the appendix No. 2, which Mr. Waddell gives as an extract from the Roman Missal, he has indeed given, not a continuous extract, but a number of pieces selected from different parts of the Rubrics, in such a manner as to favor the view which he takes of our doctrine, but which would no longer support his position if he were fairly and fully to give the whole context. However, as he proceeds by "a certain faculty called memory," he has been rather fortunate in recollecting even so much.

Another ground upon which he assails our doctrine of intention, is thus described by him in pp. 13 and 14:

"If a husband or wife at Rome should declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention to be married when the nuptials were solemnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a mere nullity; the parties are separated. We have this account from Bishop Burnet, who, in Rome, obtained full and satisfactory information on the subject, and perhaps was an eye-witness to the practice. He says, also, that such divorces are very frequent there. Nor is the fact incredible, but highly reasonable and feasible; for the practice is justifiable and even necessary, and ought to prevail in all places, amongst papists, if their doctrine of intention be true. For, if the validity of the sacrament depends upon the intention of the receiver, as well as of the intention of the minister, there can be no sacrament, and therefore no real marriage, unless the priest, man and woman all exert their intention to accomplish the work. According to this doctrine, we may reasonably suppose that vast numbers of their people are living in concubinage, who are apparently married. I think, then, it would be a fair question to ask, why does not this good practice prevail amongst them in all places? And why are the people not exhorted to consider and inquire whether they have had, on their part, the necessary ingredient in their marriage; that if upon fair inquiry, it could be found they had it not at the critical time, they might be separated and delivered out of a wicked state of life, that would lead to

rlasting ruin. Many would then no doubt join their urch, with a view to accomplish fraudulent purposes, ler the sanction of their new law, which ought thus, by rule of consistency, to open a wide door to perfidy, avery, and other evils. Query: Is this practice, which y observe at Rome, and which, according to their doc- ie, ought to prevail in all places, one of those laws ich has descended in their Church by oral tradition?"

Now, there is a little difference between Bishop Bur- 's statement, such as it is, and Mr. Waddell's assertion: states that "solemn swearing" is required. Mr. Waddell kes him say that "solemn declaration" is sufficient. wever, even both are under a mistake. Again Mr. Wad- l leads us to believe that Bishop Burnet "was perhaps eye-witness of the practice." The bishop says nothing warrant this supposition. As the bishop is just as much error as Mr. Waddell is, I might as well give his text l Mr. Waddell's at once to my readers. Writing of mar- ge, he has the two following paragraphs, Art. xxv:

"The matter assigned by the Roman doctors is the ard consent, by which both parties do mutually give them- ves to one another; the form they make to be the words or ns, by which this is expressed. Now it seems a strange ng to make the secret thoughts of men the matter and ir words the form of a sacrament; all mutual compacts ng as much sacraments as this, there being no visible terial things applied to the parties who receive them; ich is necessary to the being of a sacrament. It is also very absurd opinion, which may have very fatal conse- ences and raise very afflicting scruples, if any should agine that the inward consent is the matter of this sacra- nt; here is a foundation laid down for voiding every rriage. The parties may and often do marry against ir wills; and though they profess an outward consent, y do inwardly repine against what they are doing. If er this they grow to like their marriage, scruples must se, since they know they have not the sacrament; because

it is a doctrine in that Church, that as intention is necessary in every sacrament, so here that goes further, the intention being the only matter of this sacrament; so that without it there is no marriage, and yet since they cannot be married again to complete or rather to make the marriage, such persons do live only in a state of concubinage.

"On the other hand, here is a foundation laid down for breaking marriages as often as the parties, or either of them, will solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent, which is often practiced at Rome. All contracts are sacred things; but of them all, marriage is the most sacred, since so much depends upon it. Men's words, confirmed by oaths and other solemn acts, must either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged sense of them, or all the security and confidence of mankind is destroyed. No man can be safe if this principle is once admitted; that a man is not bound by his promise and oaths, unless his inward consent went along with them; and if such a fraudulent thing may be applied to marriages, in which so many persons are concerned, and upon which the order of the world does so much depend, it may be very justly applied to all other contracts whatsoever, so that they may be voided at pleasure. A man's words and oaths bind him by the eternal laws of fidelity and truth: and it is a just prejudice against any religion whatsoever, if it should teach a doctrine in which, by the secret reserves of not giving an inward consent, the faith which is solemnly given may be broken. Here such a door is opened to perfidy and treachery, that the world can be no longer safe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vicious persons may entangle others, and in the meanwhile order their own thoughts so, that they shall be all the while free."

I assure Mr. Waddell that I am quite at a loss whether most to admire Bishop Burnet or him in comparing their productions. Allow me, however, as Mr. Waddell is now my principal object, to get rid of the bishop as quickly

possible, for though he had been in Rome, he has de some sad mistakes. 1. He gave us a mere school nion for a Catholic doctrine. 2. He distorts the opinion m its natural shape, giving us only its caricature. He thus argues against a phantom of his own creation. He confounds what the Church distinguishes, viz., the tter and the intention. 5. He mistakes the nature of ention itself. 6. He asserts a gross theological absurdity stating that "if there be no marriage they cannot be rried again." 7. From this false position he draws a e conclusion. 8. He states what is not the fact, where asserts that a foundation is laid down for breaking the rriage where the parties or either of them solemnly ear that they gave no inward consent; if by laying a ndation he means that this is considered sufficient evi- ice of the fact, as his words and context seem to imply. All his conclusions, of course, drawn from this assump- n are unwarranted imputations against the Roman Cath- c Church.

Mr. Waddell, then, has built upon the authority of hop Burnet the assertions: 1. "That if a husband or e at Rome declare solemnly that he or she had not intention of being married when the nuptials were emnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a llity; the parties are separated." Yet Bishop Burnet kes no such assertion, and if he did, he would have erted an untruth. The principle of the Church is: That when there is no circumstance at the time to create reasonable doubt of the consent being freely given, no mination shall be subsequently permitted, and under any cumstances, the oath of either party is the most suspi- us testimony that could be adduced: because there is prior and the more solemn evidence of the party itself en to the contrary assertion at the time of the marriage.

Mr. Waddell asserts that the bishop obtained in Rome l and satisfactory information on the subject, and was haps an eye-witness to the practice. The bishop does

not appear to say any such thing, but merely states in a note that he took the doctrine concerning the sacraments from the work of a well informed divine with whom he conversed in Rome. 3. Mr. Waddell states that the bishop asserts such divorces to be very frequent in Rome. The bishop, I think, makes no such assertion; he merely says, "the swearing is often practiced at Rome," and for which we have only Burnet's mere assertion. All that Mr. Waddell adds about the doctrine of intention respecting marriage, is totally at variance with the statement of the doctrine as laid down by Burnet, who makes the parties and not the priest the ministers of the sacrament, by rendering their words the form, whilst Mr. Waddell requires the intention of the priest and thus makes him the minister. His object is to show that we cannot know when marriages are good. The answer is, that which our practice exhibits: that is, we have the evidence of circumstances to show the intention of contracting; this produces certainty, and unless there be at the time of the contract some very suspicious circumstances, no declarations nor oaths of either or both parties will be considered equivalent to the evidence of the solemn contract of their marriage. Thus the statements put forward are palpable misrepresentations and the conclusions drawn from them must partake of their nature.

V.

Having shown Mr. Waddell's misconceptions of the authors and documents which he adduced to sustain his notion of our doctrine of intention, I shall take the liberty of inserting a few other passages of his letters for the purpose of more clearly and fully exhibiting his mistakes.

In my remarks on the Protestant catechism, I stated the consequences of the doctrine which is imputed to us, in the following words which Mr. Waddell gives in his letter, p. 38: "Roman Catholics cannot be certain that the Eucharist is duly consecrated, neither can they be certain *of receiving* any sacrament, and must at least be in a

state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments, as the effect depends upon the secret and concealed intention of the priest." Upon which Mr. Waddell remarks: "This proposition does not differ from the statement and conclusion of the catechist, except in the adjectives secret and concealed, which are not in the catechism, though they must be implied if the observation of Bellarmine holds good, 'that none can see another man's intention.' The conclusion, also, that 'Roman Catholics must at best be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments,' I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: did they sincerely believe their doctrine, which if we can credit their most eminent writers, is not the case."

I have already shown that he mistook Bellarmine's meaning, and that Roman Catholics had every reasonable certainty, in the testimony or circumstances which removed the doubt here assumed to exist. In reference to the doctrine imputed to us and its consequences as described in the above paragraph I had written: "This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of intention. I could scarcely believe it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered, that the whole mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors. Hence, I do admit, that even you, Right Rev. Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station you occupy, be yourself under a very serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word intention; at all events, your little tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head."

Mr. Waddell took the liberty of introducing the word "whole," which I disclaim; and alluding to this paragraph of mine, he had the kindness to write: "Against this proposition, however, is raised the following piteous outcry, which is indeed something like the bold beginning of a good reply, but as it wants the trifling particular called proof, is only like a piece of half begun work,

which serves no other purpose than to show it can never be finished in such a way that the end will accord with a bold beginning."

Full of his anticipated victory, and under the impression that he was not only right but unanswerable, he thus commenced his fourth letter: "In my second letter I requested to inform B. C. that he was required to resume his work upon the doctrine of intention, or rather upon the statement of that doctrine, in the Protestant catechism, and the consequences deduced from it by the catechism, for which he holds Bishop Bowen accountable. As he has given us nothing in support of his charge of misrepresentation, I have thought it necessary to enter upon an inquiry into the theological meaning of the word intention, that I may repel the heavy charge which now stands against my letters on that head, as well as against Bishop Bowen, the catechist, and the general body of Protestant writers; and that I may ascertain in some measure the degree of danger in which the Catholic Church says by this doctrine her children are exposed in the worship of the Host and through a failure in her other sacraments by the want of this necessary intention."

Alluding to my declaration that our doctrine was misrepresented, he wrote:

"What a bold beginning is here! When I first saw it, I expected something very clever would follow, and I prepared my mind to examine and study it very attentively. How great was my surprise when I saw the whole affair end in a pitiful, broad assertion, just where it began? Must it not be disgusting and mortifying even to his own bigoted admirers, with whom every unsupported dogmatism and every beggarly sophism passes for a demonstration? One who was not thoroughly acquainted with their credulity and stupidity would be disposed to think they could not but see the difficulty in which their favorite champion was involved, and his knavery to deceive them, that he might seem to deliver himself and his wretched cause from con-

usion. Must they not know it was incumbent upon him o state his doctrine fairly and to institute a comparison, hat the very serious misrepresentation might appear to the onfusion of the catechist and Bishop Bowen; and also to xplain his theological meaning of the word intention, that is doctrine might be delivered from the consequences leduced from it by the catechist and many other Protestant vriters, as well as by some of his own doctors of the first ate? But why need I ask such questions, for the poor leluded people are too simple and credulous to see anyhing that makes against the doctrines of Rome? But did ie think Bishop Bowen and other Protestant readers were ools and blind and capable of being satisfied by the *ipse dixit* of such a writer? This indeed would have been a poor subterfuge for any man to fly to who even belonged o any honorable tribe of writers.

"How can this be accounted for? Only by the deplorible distress and confusion of the writer. What could he lo in such a desperate case? If his doctrine can be neither explained away nor maintained, it must be denied if possible."

I am very far from imagining myself to be as favorite a champion of one side as probably Mr. Waddell esteems himself of the other. I have not rejoiced at the resuscitation of controversy, I did not feel confident that I could overthrow my opponents, nor did I find upon trial that, although I believed myself upon the side of truth, it was a quick and easy piece of work to pose the heroes of the opposite party. I was reluctantly dragged forth; I was taunted by Mr. Waddell with cowardice and inability; I was threatened with a gag; I was sneered at and held up to ridicule.

"When I first heard of these proceedings, I rejoiced very much that the long dormant controversy was about to be renewed; for I felt confident that the papal system would quickly be overthrown by being brought to a public investigation. The weapons of warfare used by the Roman-

ists are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, barefaced denials and forgeries, and inconclusive, plausible arguments. By these they may indeed do incalculable mischief amongst the silly and thoughtless; but if they can bring nothing more powerful against us in controversy, then let no man's heart fail because of them. I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them, but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture, to deceive the ignorant and to save the cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the *Catholic Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they give for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable, and their cause untenable."

Yet, when Mr. Waddell forced me to come out, have I not shown from his own selected authorities that he misrepresented our doctrine? In p. 51 he asserted:

"But of all the doctrines calculated to favor them most and raise them to their highest wish, the doctrine of intention appeared foremost. This doctrine showed the great power with which the priest was invested over the sacraments and over the souls of the people. Except he possessed the actual intention in his consecration, there should be no sacrament; it would be null; then, though apparently married, baptized, etc., yet would they nevertheless be unmarried, unbaptized, etc., so would they be in a state of heathenism and concubinage; their penances, confessions, and absolutions, would be of no avail! the worship of the Host would be wicked idolatry: and so they would be all *damned together*.

"To prevent all this, and seeing their salvation depending almost entirely upon the intention of the priest, they must feel it necessary ever to be attentive to him, and to endeavor to please him upon all occasions, that he might be always careful to have and to exert this good intention."

I have shown that we do not require this actual intention; Mr. Waddell draws his train of consequences from the false assumption that we do. All these assumed or fancied conclusions are then baseless visions. I have stated our doctrine fairly, I have instituted a comparison between what we hold and what he imputed, and I have brought the testimony regarding our doctrine from the very authors which he pointed out, from Bellarmine and the Missal. Yet I am far from thinking that though I have delivered myself from what he is pleased to call the difficulty and the knavery and the confusion of my wretched cause, that he is either satisfied, or "posed," or silenced; and when I undertook to write these letters, I had no hopes of attaining this object.

However, before we separate, and probably forever, I shall take the liberty of instituting a few more comparisons; the result may be useful to others, if not to Mr. Waddell.

In his p. 8 he informs us, "I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." Really this appears a little strange since in p. 12, he informs us:

"This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent, and teaches the doctrine thus: 'If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer the sacraments the intention of doing what the Church does, is not required, let him be anathema.' Reily's catechism teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology. That the intention insisted on by the above canon is in order to the efficacy of the sacrament, is manifest, by the sense which is attached to it in other books of equal authority. 'The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' a book publicly authorized and of general use in Ireland, as a book

of instruction for the common people, teaches it in the following plain, unequivocal language:

"'Q. Is the intention of the minister to do what Christ ordained a condition without which the sacrament subsisteth not?

"'A. It is, as also the intention of the receiver to receive what Christ ordained, if he be at years of understanding.

"'Q. Why do you say if he be at years of understanding?

"'A. Because for infants in the sacrament of baptism, the intention of the Church sufficeth.'"

Reily's catechism was then generally used by all the Catholic children in Ireland, and if the doctrine was taught therein it must have been taught to all the children who learned their catechism. Strange that the laity did not know the doctrine which they were taught!

"The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine," publicly authorized and in general use for the instruction of the common people, teaches the doctrine in plain and unequivocal language, and yet Mr. Waddell never met with a Romanist who knew what he had thus been taught!

But it seems that although they had been thoroughly instructed in those doctrines of their Church, yet they did not know them; for in p. 45 Mr. Waddell informs us:

"The general body of their priests are poor theological cowards, liars and deceivers, who know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the sons of papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one layman of their communion, whom I could not teach the doctrines

of his Church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me like B. C. when I would state the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the Gospel, and even to their own doctrines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, although they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system."

To me it appears very strange that those Catholics should have in their hands the very books from which Mr. Waddell makes his quotations, should have in their childhood been instructed in their doctrine from those very books, and yet not understand them. Some of them, as for instance, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Coppinger (for Mr. Waddell seems to confine himself to Ireland), might be supposed to have as much understanding as Mr. Waddell, and have, we should suppose, at least as much information as the common people who learn the abridgment. Really, it is difficult to suppose that there are not laymen amongst the Romanists who do know their own doctrine of intention, though they might not have the honor of Mr. Waddell's acquaintance. Now, there is only one circumstance which I shall state hereafter which prevents me from asserting that Mr. Waddell contradicted himself when he asserted they did not know their own doctrine, and yet that it was contained in the books from which they were taught.

Mr. Waddell has charged our laity with stupidity, ignorance and carelessness. It would indeed almost take a reprint of his whole production to exhibit the manner in which he libels our clergy. The following extract respecting the venerable Doctor Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and one of the most eminent, learned and pious of the English Vicars-Apostolic, may be taken merely as a specimen. It is found in pp. 15 and 16 of his production:

"But this magic charm, whatever power it may possess in laying their *difficulties* and doubts asleep, has never yet

been sufficient to enable their writers to maintain their cause by giving a fair and solid answer to those who have not tasted of the powerful opiate. To illustrate the above remark, that their priests and people overlook the import of this doctrine and are blind to the danger implied by it, I shall produce the opinion of their great Dr. Challoner on this subject, who sings one note with his brethren.

"'Q. Is there no danger of idolatry in this practice (the divine worship of the Host)?

"'A. No, certainly; because this honor is not paid to the outward veil or the sacramental signs, but to Jesus Christ who lies hidden there. Now Jesus Christ is no idol, but the true and living God.'

"'Q. But if the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation should not be true, should we not then at least be guilty of idolatry?

"'A. We are as positively certain, by divine faith, of the truth of the doctrine of the real presence and of transubstantiation, as Protestants can be of the divinity of Jesus Christ; and therefore we are as much out of the reach of the danger of idolatry, in worshiping Christ in the sacrament, as they are of worshiping Him in heaven.'[1]

"Throughout the above questions the writer pretends to justify the worship of the Host only by the doctrine of transubstantiation; and argues that as that doctrine is true, he is as far out of the reach of the danger of idolatry in the divine worship of the Host, as Protestants can be in worshiping Christ in heaven. Now, if he does not overlook the above canon, he tells a willful falsehood: and if he does not contradict his Missal, there is no contradiction between the Council of Trent and the articles of the Church of England; for the greatest of books asserts positively that 'Mass may be defective.'

"Thus Dr. Challoner and the general body of their authors write, speak and act as if this canon had never existed. It is only therefore by this fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine of intention that I can

[1] "*Catholic Christian Instructed.*" p. 77.

account for their inconsistency, and the honesty and sincerity of their conduct in the worship of their Host, and in speaking with such certainty of their consecrations, absolutions, etc., and for their stupidity in being blind to the danger to which they are exposed from all quarters if the above be not true. Nothing but a fond conceit in their infallibility can make them capable of thus receiving the doctrines implicitly without attending to their obvious, plain import. As, therefore, they do not sincerely believe this doctrine, we charitably hope their practice may be sincere in the divine worship of the Host, if they believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that as their mistake extenuates their guilt, the Lord will forgive them. 'as they know not what they do.'"

It is in perfect keeping with this that Mr. Waddell had previously asserted: "But their priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency? Only by the fact that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences."

Hence he asserts in p. 39, that we do not sincerely believe the doctrine: "The conclusion also, that Roman Catholics must be at least in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments:" I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: "Did they sincerely believe their doctrine which, if we can credit their most eminent writers, is not the case." I could continue extracts of this description as I pleased; but I am disgusted and tired, and hasten to an obvious conclusion, which is this: Mr. Waddell declares that he never yet met a layman of our Church who understood his own doctrine of intention; and that our most eminent divines do not sincerely believe our doctrine. It is clear that a man must believe his own doctrine and that another might mistake it. Mr.

Waddell and other Protestants impute to us a doctrine which is not ours, by giving to the doctrine of intention a meaning which our most eminent divines do not admit, which our laity do not know, which our Missal contradicts; and from this imputed doctrine they draw consequences which do not follow from what we believe; and when they impute the consequences to us and to our doctrine, we complain that they do us injustice and misrepresent our tenets. I leave to any rational being to decide whether this is not a more natural conclusion, than to assert that our laity do not know a doctrine which they are taught and that our clergy do not believe the truth of what they profess and teach. Nor is this a singular instance of the pertinacity with which men like Mr. Waddell will endeavor to fasten upon us follies which we disclaim. All the religious papers of the different Protestant Churches continually bear false witness thus against us. And when we complain of the calumny, like Mr. Waddell, they call us knaves, poor theological cowards, liars, deceivers, and every other vile epithet which the decorum of society would not permit in any other case; but here, unfortunately, the public taste is vitiated, and public justice has yet to awake in these United States, to protect the feelings of a large body of citizens who have been the unpitied butt of every drawcansir, whose ambition for polemic fame urged him to pick up and use the poisoned arrows which defeated men of prowess had cast away, when they left the field with blushes other than those of honor and of fame.

PENANCE AND CELIBACY.[1]

I.

"OUR Lord enjoined no austerities. He not only enjoined none as absolute duties, but He recommended none as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor. Place Christianity, in this respect, by the side of all institutions which have been founded in fanaticism, either of their author or of his first followers; or rather compare, in this respect, Christianity as it came from Christ, with the same religion after it fell into other hands; with the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to celibacy, solitude, voluntary poverty; with the rigors of an ascetic, and the vows of a monastic life; the hair shirt, the watchings, the midnight prayers, the obmutescence; the gloom and mortification of religious orders, and of those who aspired to religious perfection."[2]

I must premise that frequently a short objection requires a long answer, and Dr. Paley's charge upon the Church, in this paragraph, though comprised in a few words, contains a great deal of matter; it will necessitate many paragraphs in return. I do not recollect to have seen any work by a Catholic divine in answer to the doctor's charges. I have not for the doctor all the respect which some persons appear to feel. But the question for examination is not, whether Paley did or did not know the practices of our communion—nor whether the Church of England or the Protestant Episcopal Church of America is more rational, more pious, more sober than ours: the only question to be examined, I believe, is, whether the doctor's assertions are true in fact. To that I shall confine myself.

[1] This essay was written in reply to a letter from a Protestant correspondent requesting an answer to the reasoning of Dr. Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity," respecting austerities.

[2] Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," part II, c. ii, division 3, paragraph ii.

I take Dr. Paley's first assertion, "Our Lord enjoi
no austerities," to be so extremely vague that I must
it aside for the present, until I shall come to its prec
meaning, after having examined other portions of his s
tence. I then proceed to the second assertion: "He
only enjoined none as absolute duties, but He recommen
none as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favo
These two assertions are all that he has regarding
divine Lord. Now, my object is to inquire what the d
tor means by "austerities." I believe I am correct wl
I say that he ranks "celibacy," "solitude," "volunt
poverty," etc., under the head of "austerities." Let
then ask, did our blessed Lord not recommend celib
to some persons? I take the doctor's own version of
Bible—that is, King James' version, as it is usually style
and I may say that it puts me upon very inferior grou
on account of the imperfection of its translation, especia
in those very passages which I now want. Still I
not shrink from using those very passages, incorrect as
believe the translation to be.

In chap. xix of St. Matthew's Gospel, the Pharis
consult our blessed Lord upon the subject of marria
After His answer we read: "His disciples say unto Hi
if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not g
to marry. But He said unto them, all men cannot rece
this saying, save they to whom it is given. For th
are some eunuchs which were so born from their mothe
womb; and there are some eunuchs which were m
eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs which have m
themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.
that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Now, I believe the meaning of the passage to be th
Our blessed Lord had brought back marriage to its ori
nal state, the indissoluble union of one man with
woman. Upon which some of His hearers said this
so difficult a situation from its bond, that it would not
good to marry; of course whoever remained unmarried

continue in a state of celibacy. Our Lord proceeds ther, and shows that some persons are obliged to remain this state for natural causes, some from their defective th, others from subsequent injury. Thus, He shows that is not an unusual nor, perhaps, an unhappy state. But e had already informed them that all could not or, as r translation has, would not enter upon this state in eference to a married state, which was not only lawful t sanctified. There would be exceptions, and the excepns would consist, amongst others, of those who would nain in as perfect a state of celibacy as they who had en previously alluded to; but would, themselves, volunily choose this state for a special reason, viz., the kingm of heaven's sake; and He recommends it in these rds, according to that version, in stronger according to rs: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Thus, it is clear that our Lord did state, without conmnation, the fact that persons did, for the "kingdom of ıven's sake," that is, for a high degree of divine favor, ce themselves in a state in which others were not placed. ere was a distinction drawn by our Lord between two sses: "All cannot receive this saying;" that is, all can- do this which He speaks of. He does not say, "no e can do it," but He says, "all cannot do it." Then ne can do it; yes, for He shows the exception—"save whom it is given." Then some can do what all can- do. What is it they can do which all cannot? V. 10 orms us: "It is not good to marry." Yes, says the rd, all cannot avoid marriage, but some to whom it is en can avoid it; the distinction is then clear. But why l they refrain? V. 12 informs us: "There be eunuchs ich have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of ven's sake." Thus, these persons do not abstain from h causes as the other two enumerated before, but volarily "they made themselves so;" not by unjustifiable ıry to themselves, but by voluntary abstinence, for aining a higher degree of divine favor. If they were

not to obtain a higher favor for a higher sacrifice, the act would be irrational. Our Lord distinctly approves and recommends it by His permission, I would almost call it a command, to those some to whom it is given. V. 12: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Let those who feel that it is given to them to abstain from marriage, live in celibacy; all cannot, some can. Let those who can do so remain in that state, for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

With respect to translation, I feel the objection much stronger in the next passages which I shall produce, but I shall waive that. The public will not, I trust, think that I go too far in saying, that I have reason to believe our Lord did recommend to some persons, though not to all, the state of celibacy—nor will it think me unreasonable, I presume, in my belief, that when to those He held out a special prospect, the kingdom of heaven's sake, it was to carry them to a higher degree of the divine favor, without undervaluing the state of marriage.

I purposely abstain at present from adducing many arguments from various other topics which would, I have no doubt, materially aid in establishing the fact that our Lord did recommend celibacy to some persons upon the very ground that the doctor writes He did not, as I wish to be as concise as possible. But I shall adduce one from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

The doctor informs us in his "Horæ Paulinæ," chap. iii, No. 1: "It appears that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St. Paul in answer to one which he had received from them; and the seventh and some of the following chapters are taken up in resolving certain doubts and regulating certain points of order concerning which the Corinthians in their letter had consulted him." I differ with the doctor in the exposition which I next quote, but shall suppose him to be perfectly correct. Enumerating the doubts, etc., he writes: "The rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins

dows." I merely beg leave to observe what, if the could answer, I believe he would admit, that the makes it plain, virgins of both sexes are meant. ', it will be admitted that St. Paul knew the spirit Lord's precepts and advice. Let us then hear e answers: "Now concerning virgins I have no com- ents of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one th obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful."[1] n this I shall merely remark that it is plain the testifies that there was no command to marry. that entering the marriage state or leading a life bacy are equally within the free choice of every ın. This, I believe, is the meaning of the Apostle: and if thou marry thou hast not sinned, and if a marry she hath not sinned."[2]

also of the following: "But if any man think that aveth himself uncomely towards his virgin, if she e flower of her age, and need so require, let him ıt he will, he sinneth not, let them marry. Never- he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no y, but having power over his own will, and hath so in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth

s, I say, the Apostle distinctly informs us that there command of the Lord for celibacy; no command for e. Therefore a life of celibacy is not forbidden by rd. Indeed, unless I mistake, I have before shown His own words, that He recommended it to some, all. But the Apostle now proceeds to give his ıent," and in what capacity? We see that he gives ıe that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. s, as a public interpreter of the divine will, who, the mercy of God is a faithful interpreter thereof. ppose therefore that this is good for the present . I say that it is good for a man so to be. Art ound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou

[1] c. vii. v. 25. [2] Ib., v. 28. [3] Ib., v. 36-37.

loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But, and if th
marry, thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, s
hath not sinned. Nevertheless, such shall have trouble
the flesh; but I spare you. But this I say, brethren, t
time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives
as though they had none. And they that weep as thou
they wept not; and they that rejoice as though th
rejoice not; and they that buy as though they possess
not; and they that use this world as not abusing it;
the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would ha
you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth
the things that belong to the Lord, how he may ple
the Lord. But he that is married careth for the thi
that are of the world, and how he may please his wi
There is this difference also between a wife and a virg
The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lo
that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; b
she that is married careth for the things of the world, h
she may please her husband. And this I speak for yo
own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, b
for that which is comely, and that you may attend up
the Lord without distraction. But if any man think th
he behaveth," etc.[1] "So then he that giveth her in m
riage, doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marria
doeth better. The wife is bound by the law as long
her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is
liberty to marry to whom she will; only in the Lord. I
she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment; and
think also, that I have the Spirit of God."[2]

Upon the whole of this I will only remark, that havi
declared that there was no law or commandment bindi
persons to marriage or to celibacy, but that each state v
equally optional for Christians, the Apostle now gives
judgment, as a faithful interpreter of the Lord's will, s
led, as he thought, by the Spirit of God, and that ju
ment is, that a state of celibacy is better than a state

[1] *The conclusion* of this passage is given above in verses 36 and 37.
[2] *I Cor.*, c. vii, v. 26-40.

marriage, which decision is unquestionably given in v. 38; and besides the reasons which Dr. Paley and others insinuate for this decision, viz., a preference of a single to a married state, on account of the distress of present persecution; for the other reasons given in verses 32, 33, 34, 35 and 40, which reasons are not temporary, which have no concern with a state of persecution rather than any other state, but rest wholly upon the kingdom of heaven's sake.

In the previous part of this chapter, the Apostle writing concerning the duties of married persons to each other, which was apparently the first topic proposed, after laying down those duties, recommends, as we read: "Defraud not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say, therefore, to the unmarried and the widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain let them marry."[1]

Upon this I make but two remarks: one of the fact that St. Paul did lead a life of celibacy; the other, that he would recommend what he would wish; and he did wish that others should live in that state in which he lived.

But what, it may be asked, has St. Paul's recommendation to do with the question? Dr. Paley's statement was, that our Lord recommended not celibacy as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor. My answer is, I have produced our Lord's own recommendation, and lest there should remain a doubt of my proper explanation of its meaning, I adduce the recommendation of St. Paul, who taught exactly the same doctrine which was taught by our Lord.

Now I might introduce several passages from other parts of the inspired writings, to show that my exposition of our Lord's doctrine was in accordance with the doctrine of

[1] I Cor., v. 5-9.

St. John and other inspired writers. I might introduce the facts and writings of the eminent Christians of the first three ages to show that they believed, as we Catholics now do, that our Lord did teach what Dr. Paley asserts He did not teach regarding, what he is pleased to term, "the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to celibacy;" and would conclude that the Gospel is plain, the acts of the Apostles furnish us with facts, the earliest history gives us examples; the inspired epistles and the revelations of St. John are distinct, and the earliest writers are clear upon the subject, that our Lord did teach that a state of celibacy, entered upon and persevered in with the proper dispositions, did carry men to a higher degree of divine favor, and therefore did recommend it. All this was certainly very soon, because it was coeval with Christianity. We know that extravagant encomiums might have been bestowed upon the state by unguarded eloquence or by thoughtless fanaticism; but the doctor belongs, I have no doubt, to that class of men who can distinguish between the calm assertion of the superiority of a state, for a special purpose, and an extravagant encomium bestowed upon that state. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which is that of those very soon ages, leaves extravagant hyperbole which may outrage common taste and almost common sense, though it should not contradict truth, to the rejection and the reproof of all sober minds, but calmly asserts that our blessed Lord did teach that such a state of celibacy as I described was preferable to a state of marriage, though the married state is holy and honorable, but that all are not called to this latter state.

Dr. Paley was Archdeacon of Carlisle, which is a very respectable living in the Church of England; of course the doctor subscribed his assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles of that Church, and amongst others to the following: "The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for those times, as

doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and, therefore, we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people."

Now, in the book of Homilies, as set forward in the time of Edward the Sixth, is a homily or sermon against adultery, in three parts, near the conclusion of the third part of which is the following sentence: "Finally, all such as feel in themselves a sufficiency and ability, through the working of God's Spirit, to lead a sole and continent life, let them praise God for His gift, and seek all possible means to maintain the same; as by reading of the Holy Scriptures, by godly meditations, by continual prayers, and such other virtuous exercises."

Dr. Paley should have recollected that this "article is received by his Church, so far as it declares the books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrines and instructive in piety and morals." He would have also done well to recollect that on the 20th of May, 1814, the House of Bishops in General Convention of the Church, made this book of Homilies a work to be studied, and a knowledge of the contents of which would be indispensably required from candidates for ordination; and that in consequence the said books were published in New York in 1815. Thus, Archdeacon Paley could have had but little difficulty in embracing the Roman Catholic principle, which neither binds any individual to marriage nor to celibacy except upon the full, free, and unbiassed choice and determination of the party concerned. Our Church indeed teaches what I have above exhibited, and as yet I am to learn that it is condemned therefor by either the Church of England or by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Where God leaves persons free, the Church does not bind, and if God shall give to any person the sufficiency and the ability to lead a sole and continent life, and this person had determined to lead such life, she thinks it would be equally cruel to compel such person

to marriage, as to compel one desirous of marriage to enter a cloister. For my part, I can see no difference between the tyranny in one case and in the other; either is criminal. I have frequently heard and read of cases of criminal compulsion to a religious profession, but I speak from my own experience when I assert that I never knew of a case where an individual was compelled or induced by force, threat, or entreaty to enter a convent; but I have known many cases in which persons desirous of living in a state of celibacy have been tyrannically forced to marriage; several in which entreaty, threats, and violence have been used to prevent persons embracing a life of celibacy. The principle of the Roman Catholic Church is not to compel either, but to afford the opportunities for each, and to permit individuals to make their own free choice. This is not fanaticism; this is Christian liberty.

II.

The next topic which naturally presents itself, is that of "the extravagant merit very soon ascribed to solitude." I am not, nor is the Church to which I belong, disposed to ascribe extravagant merit to solitude; the doctor may perhaps deem extravagant what we deem rational. There is not and there cannot on these subjects be any fixed standard by which reasonableness can be measured, so as to give a scale which will answer for all. The principle in the Roman Catholic Church is now what it has ever been, viz.: That respecting austerities, what would be reasonable for one individual would be extravagant for another, and therefore that the judgment in each case must depend upon the special circumstances of the individual, the time, the place, the connections, and the other obligations. Hence, in order to guard as much as possible against fanaticism, the Church has always had prudent, pious, and well-informed men of experience in official stations, and she has requested of her children not to undertake any extraordinary practices of devotion without the

consent of those authorized guides, and where the acts of those who consulted them and followed their advice were seen to be extravagant, the advisers were deemed incompetent and others better qualified were substituted in their places. In order to aid those advisers, some of the best maxims of the best and wisest eminent Christian writers were appointed for their study, and some of the most respectable tribunals are always ready to aid in the solution of their difficulties. It does not then carry upon its face the semblance of fanaticism, to use such precaution to afford salutary counsel to those who wish to advance in virtue.

These advisers and these tribunals have as general principles laid down: That avoiding the distraction of society is a great help to religious wisdom; that they who are neither obliged nor disposed to enter into business or society, are at full liberty to live in retirement more or less, according to their circumstances, and provided they be occupied in the fulfillment of the great duty of prayer, or in the devotional contemplation of God and of heavenly things, or in profitable reading or meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, or manual labor, they serve God well; but that solitude and idleness are destructive to virtue.

Now, that I have so far explained as to know what is meant by the word, I take the archdeacon's proposition: "Our blessed Lord did not recommend solitude, as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor."

In the Gospel of St. Matthew we read, as spoken by our blessed Lord: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, among them that are borne of woman, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist."[1] In the 9th verse of that chapter, he called him "more than a prophet." In the vii chap. of the Gospel of St. Luke, we find our blessed Lord use the same expressions. Now I have no doubt that our blessed Lord recommended the conduct of John as carrying men to a higher degree of the divine favor. What was part of that conduct?

[1] St. Matt., c. xi, v. 2.

In those same chapters we find our blessed Lord testifying by asking a question: "What went ye out in the wilderness to see?" The answer is to found in several passages, as follows:

"In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea. . . . . For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaias, saying the voice of one crying in the wilderness," etc.[1] "As it is written in the prophets, behold, I send My messenger before Thy face, which shall prepare the way before Thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make His paths straight. John did baptize in the wilderness and preach," etc.[2] "And the child (John the Baptist) grew, and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his showing unto Israel."[3] "Annas and Caiphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the country about Jordan preaching," etc.[4] "He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." etc.[5]

I believe there can be little doubt that the greatest man who was born of woman did, in solitude, bring himself by God's grace to a higher degree of divine favor than other men. But I still desire to give further proof, and must adduce my evidence before I make the comment. I mean to show two points: 1. That John the Baptist was he who was to come as Elias before our blessed Lord. 2. That Elias led a life of solitude. Our Saviour, speaking of John, says: "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come."[6] "And His disciples asked him, saying, why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things. But I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not. Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist."[7] The angel foretelling the

[1] St. Matt., c. iii, 1-3. [2] Mark, c. i, v. 2-4. [3] St. Luke, c. i, v. 80. [4] Ib., c. iii, v. 2-3. [5] St. John, c. i, v. 23. [6] St. Matt., c. xi, v. 15. [7] Ib., c. xvii, v. 10-13.

birth of John the Baptist to his father: "And he shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias."[1] Of course it is well known that Elias and Elisha are but two names for the same individual. "And the word of the Lord came unto him (Elias), saying, get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is beyond the Jordan. And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook, and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there."[2]

In the first chapter of the next book of Kings, we find that this prophet resided upon the solitude of Mount Carmel, was a hairy man, girt with a girdle of leather round his loins. John the Baptist lived in the wilderness upon locusts and wild honey, and was filled with the spirit of Elias. These have always been considered the two great founders of institutions for solitude and retirement, and have been certainly recommended by our blessed Lord for their virtues, which raised them to a higher degree of divine favor.

The example of our blessed Lord, so far as it can be imitated, must be considered His most efficacious recommendation. "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness."[3] "And when He had sent the multitudes away, He went up into a mountain apart to pray; and when the evening was come, He was there alone."[4] "And immediately the Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness. And He was there in the wilderness forty days. . . . . And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, He went out and departed to a solitary place, and there prayed."[5] Chap. vi and vii show that He was in the habit of retiring with His disciples into the desert, or solitudes, whither the people followed Him, so that they sometimes had been three days without food. "And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from the Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness."[6] "And He withdrew himself into the wilderness and prayed."[7] "And

[1] St. Luke, c. i, v. 17. [2] 1st Book of Kings, c. xiii, v. 2-4. [3] St. Matt. c. iv, v. 1. [4] Ib., c. xiv, v. 23. [5] *St. Mark, c. i, v. 12-3, 35.* [6] St. Luke, c. iii, v. 1. [7] Ib., c. v, v. 16.

it came to pass in those days that He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God."[1] "And went away again beyond the Jordan, into the place where John first baptized; and there He abode."[2]

I have very little doubt that the days and weeks when our blessed Lord was not actually occupied in His public instructions and the display of His power, were spent with His disciples in solitude; that His retreat was frequently broken in upon by those who desired instruction; that in this solitude He taught some of His best lessons, before and after His resurrection, is evident; that in this solitude He explained to His disciples His parables and taught them the mysteries of the kingdom of God, is apparent; and that He occasionally withdrew altogether, and gave Himself to days and nights of prayer, is unquestionable. A very few references will also show that He recommended such retirement as raising man to a higher degree of the divine favor. "But when thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret."[3] Thus He recommends the mode which He had practiced; and when we read in the 49th verse of the xxiv chapter of St. Luke's Gospel His recommendation to His Apostles, as to how they were to spend the time between His ascension, and their being fully commissioned by the Holy Ghost, we find that mode explained by the recital of the fact, in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter i, 13, 14, in the solitude of an upper room, with one accord in prayer and supplication.

Thus I apprehend that it may safely be said that our blessed Lord did recommend, as raising man to a higher degree of divine favor, the "solitude for religious meditation and prayer, and the midnight prayers," which were the great characteristics of Elias, and so many others who imitated his mode of living upon Mount Carmel, amongst whom perhaps were Simeon, who is commended in the Gospel of St. Luke, ii, 25, and Anna, of whom it is written

[1] St. Luke, c. vi, v. 12. [2] St. John, c. x, v. 40. [3] St. Matthew, c. vi, v. 6.

in the same chapter: "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day."

Our blessed Lord recommended the religious practice of St. John the Baptist, a principal one of which was this solitude. He recommended it to all, in some degree, as a preparation for the act which specially raises man to a higher grade of divine favor, viz., prayer. He recommended it to His Apostles, and we find them practice it as far as their public duties would admit. We also perceive that our Lord spent much of His own time in solitude and led His disciples thereto: that He prayed frequently at night, and sometimes all night; and very soon indeed, for immediately, the practice was continued in His Church, as the earliest writers allege, upon His recommendation, as well as in imitation of Himself and of His friends, associates and disciples. I forbear adducing a considerable portion of other evidence that would, to my mind, establish facts distinctly, to which I have only alluded in this place. But, I now say, that well-regulated solitude is a considerable help to solid piety; and the Archdeacon of Carlisle was too hasty when he wrote that our blessed Lord did not recommend solitude, watchings, and midnight prayers, as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor.

Now, the good archdeacon himself tells us of our blessed Lord, towards the end of the same chapter ii, under the head "The Character of Christ," second paragraph of topic second: "Thus we see the devoutness of His mind in His frequent retirement to solitary prayer." The doctor refers to Matt. xiv, 23, xxvi, 36, and Luke ix, 28, for his proofs; and in the next paragraph we read thus: "Our Saviour's lessons, besides what has been already remembered in them, touch, and that oftentimes, by very affect-

ing representations, upon some of the most interesting topics of human duty and of human meditation; upon the principles by which decisions of the last day will be regulated. (Matt. xx, 31). Upon the superior, or rather the supreme importance of religion. (Mark viii, 35, and Matt. vi, 23, Luke xii, 4, 5, 16–21). Upon penitence, by the most pressing calls and most encouraging invitations. (Luke xv). Upon self-denial, (Matt. v, 29), watchfulness. (Matt. iv, 42, Mark xiii, 37, Matt. xxv, 13)," etc.

I certainly am mistaken if Archdeacon Paley himself does not here establish our blessed Lord's recommendation, by example, of solitude and midnight prayer and watching, as leading to a high degree of divine favor.

I do therefore conceive that the dignitary wrote not what was the fact, but what he wished to have been the fact, when he penned the paragraph at the beginning of this article.

III.

I may take the next propositions of the doctor in the passages laid before us, to be: "Our Lord recommended no austerities as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor." He did not recommend as such "voluntary poverty," to which extravagant merit was very soon ascribed after Christianity, as it came from Christ, fell into other hands.

I certainly felt a little astonished at finding a writer of the archdeacon's penetrating intellect, judicious views, and deep erudition, deliberately commit himself in this proposition. Certainly Dr. Paley must have read the texts which I shall here subjoin, and many other similar texts, clearly establishing the facts which I shall adduce as proved by them. "And a certain scribe came and said unto Him, Master, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head."[1] "Jesus saith unto him, then are

[1] St. Matt. c. viii, v. 19-20.

the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; and take and give unto them for Me and thee."[1] "And it came to pass, that as they went on the way, a certain man said unto Him, Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head."[2]

From these it is evident, that our Lord Himself did abide in a state of voluntary poverty. There can be no question but His state was voluntarily taken up, nay, selected by Himself; and being houseless, and not having the tribute money to pay, until He had sent His Apostle to catch a fish for its payment, is full evidence of his poverty. That His favorite, St. John the Baptist, was also in a similar state of voluntary poverty, there can be no question. Now let us see His language to His disciples. "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."[3] "And commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey save a staff only; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse. But be shod with sandals, and not put on two coats."[4] "And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats a piece."[5] "Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes."[6] "And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. And He said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, nothing."[7]

I do not think my conclusion would be unwarranted did I from those texts assert that our Lord commanded some persons to observe voluntary poverty. I shall, however, be now content with deducing as the consequence that our

[1] St. Matt., c. xvii, v. 26-27. [2] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 57-58. [3] St. Matt., c. x, v. 9-10. [4] St. Mark, c. vi, v. 8-9. [5] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 3. [6] Ib., c. x, v. 4-8. [7] Ib., c. xxii, v. 35.

Lord recommended voluntary poverty to some persons. I shall endeavor now to show why He recommended this virtue, which He practiced Himself.

"And behold one came and said unto Him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life? And He said unto him, why callest thou Me good? there is none good but One, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto Him, which? Jesus said, thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness; honor thy father and thy mother; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. The young man saith unto Him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet? Jesus saith unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven: and come and follow Me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. Then Jesus said unto His disciples, Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. When His disciples heard it, they were exceedingly amazed, saying, Who then can be saved? But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With man this is impossible; but with God all things are possible. Then Peter answered and said unto Him, Behold, we have forsaken all and followed Thee; what shall we have therefor? And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed Me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit eternal life."[1]

[1] St. Matt., c. xix, v. 16-29.

St. Mark relates this transaction and discourse in his tenth chapter, and St. Luke in his eighteenth chapter. The only circumstance which is found in either of those, in addition to what I have laid down, is found in the Gospel of St. Mark, viz., in the 29th verse is the answer of the young man: "Master, all these have I observed from my youth." "Then Jesus beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, one thing thou lackest; go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take up the cross, and follow Me."

Now, without any difficulty, we can perceive the facts here related to be the discourse of a young man with our Lord, and the discourse of St. Peter with our Lord. The young man asked what he should do to obtain heaven. Our Lord answers him, keep the commandments. The young man hearing them enumerated, answers that he had not transgressed them. Our Lord loved him. So far we have reason to conclude that this young man was in the divine favor, as having complied with the essential duties of religion. That he was in the divine favor we cannot doubt, for our Lord loved him, and our Lord loves none but those who are in the divine favor. That he was so loved because he had fulfilled the essential duties of religion we have two reasons for believing: The first, our Lord informed him that the essential duties were those prescribed by the commandments; the second, because the declaration of that affection is subsequent to the exhibition of the fact that he had fulfilled those duties.

Our Lord next tells him, if he will be perfect, to embrace a state of voluntary poverty, and that he will have a treasure in heaven. Let us then remark the distinction: The discharge of the essential duties will procure our admittance into the kingdom of heaven; the perfection of doing something beyond that which is of obligation, will secure for us a treasure after our admittance; one of the circumstances of this perfection is voluntary poverty, embraced from a *proper motive*, with proper dispositions.

Our Lord loves this young man, he is therefore in a certain degree of divine favor. Our Lord recommends to him voluntary poverty for the sake of perfection—to secure a treasure. Surely I am justified in saying our Lord recommended voluntary poverty as raising man to a higher degree of divine favor.

The second fact confirms my doctrine. We have before seen that our Lord recommended voluntary poverty to St. Peter and his associates. The Apostle now states that they followed that recommendation, and asks what will be the consequence. Our Lord marks out the very highest degree of divine favor—they shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel on the great day of judgment. Surely the venerable Archdeacon of Carlisle was too hasty in his assertion that our Lord did not recommend voluntary poverty as raising man to a higher degree of the divine favor.

Nor does our Lord confine it to the case of the Apostles; the 29th verse shows the recommendation to be general and the promise of the recompense is made general also.

Thus, in His first sermon, the very first expression of our Lord is: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Certainly I will admit that a voluntary divestment of property, without the true spirit of Christian motive and Christian disposition, would be perfectly useless; but when we treat of external acts, we always suppose the spirit without which the act is useless; upon that principle of the Apostle, "and though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." It would be then gross misrepresentation to state, that the merit or the profit was attributable merely to the external act without the proper spirit. Look to the whole of that admirable discourse, and especially to the part contained in the sixth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and it inculcates the very spirit of that voluntary poverty which our Lord

did recommend. I cannot avoid selecting these verses: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust do corrupt and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust do corrupt, and where thieves do not dig through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[1] "Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, and treasures in the heaven that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[2] "And I say unto you, make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail they may receive you into everlasting habitations."[3]

I will acknowledge that if the archdeacon did prefer a married to a single life, and was blessed with eight or ten fine children, and besides attending to the things which were the Lord's and pleasing his wife, he had also to educate his sons and portion his daughters, and to introduce them into society, and to feel those natural attachments to his children and to his children's children, to the third and fourth generation, and to be divided amongst them—this doctrine would be perhaps a little too severe for him. But it was one which answered very well for St. Paul, for St. John the Apostle, and some others of those who very soon, as the venerable archdeacon expresses it, took into their hands the maxims of Christianity as delivered by our Lord. They to be sure took these texts in their obvious meaning; and there might also have been some persons like those Pharisees of whom mention is made by St. Luke: "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all those things; and they derided Him. And He said unto them, Ye are they who justify

[1] St. Matt., c. vi, 19-21. [2] St. Luke, c. xii, v. 33-34. [3] Ib., c. xvi, v. 9.

yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is highly esteemed among men is abominable in the sight of God."[1]

Indeed I could not help observing that amongst other very serious omissions, made as I thought for obvious reasons, by Dr. Paley, in the characteristics of our Redeemer, was that of His voluntary poverty and some others which the old writers used to point out. However, we cannot blame the doctor, because he forgot some writings which were first indited sixteen or seventeen hundred years before he examined the documents. There is a system of which voluntary poverty forms one part, celibacy another, solitude another, and a few other such qualities are inseparably connected therewith. Like every perfect system, it must have all its parts; and as some of them were a little inconvenient to the archdeacon's system, the whole were discarded. But he ought not to have asserted against evidence that this system and all its parts was not recommended by our Lord as carrying man to a higher degree of perfection.

I might have accorded to the doctor that all men were not commanded to do those things which were generally recommended and almost commanded to some. Thus voluntary poverty or the surrender of private property to a common fund was not commanded, but was recommended, and it was practiced. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common. Neither was there any amongst them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."[2] "But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife being also privy *to it,* and brought a certain part, and laid it at the Apostles'

[1] St. Luke, c. xiv, v. 13-15. [2] Acts, c. iv, v. 32-35.

feet. But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto man, but unto God."[1]

I shall here conclude this topic. It is plain our Lord did recommend voluntary poverty as leading man to a higher degree of divine favor, and that he practiced it Himself; and it was practiced by St. John the Baptist, and by the Apostles and by the first Christians; and that it is most useful, for it roots out altogether covetousness, and therefore was specially recommended to the clergy. "And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things."[2]

All men are not bound to voluntary poverty; yet it was recommended by our Lord, and was, indeed, very soon prized in the Church, because it was prized from the beginning.

IV.

I have taken up the following topics of the sentence which was submitted to my inquiry, viz.: 1, celibacy; 2, solitude, watchings and midnight prayers; and 3, voluntary poverty. I have still left "the rigors of an ascetic and the vows of a monastic life; the hair shirt, the obmutescence, the gloom and mortification of religious orders and of those who aspired to religious perfection."

Now it is well that we should have distinct notions of our topics. The rigors of an ascetic life are the practice of those *special observances which* come under examination;

[1] Acts, c. v, v. 1-4. [2] 1 Tim., c. vi, v. 8-11.

therefore the fate of the whole must depend upon the fate (all the parts. If our Lord recommended all the parts, H recommended the entire. Next the vows of a monastic life those vows are celibacy, voluntary poverty, and obedience t a regular superior. I have examined the first two topics: have only the third remaining to be examined, and in add tion the general question, whether our Lord recommende vows as leading to a higher degree of the divine favor; the the hair shirt, the obmutescence, the gloom and mortificatio are to be considered.

After having gone through those several topics, I believ I shall have treated the archdeacon's paragraph with su ficient fulness. But let me first try whether I can fairl dispense with examining any special topic here produced.

The hair shirt is but a peculiar species of mortificatio If mortification, which comprises all its species, be recom mended, each species which fairly comes under the gener head is recommended; hence I need not enter into any specia examination of this topic. The archdeacon must have know that no Roman Catholic believed that wearing a hair shi would, as such, raise man to a higher degree of divine favo nor the wearing of fine linen sink him into disfavor, althoug some persons who, strange to say, are now considered b Protestants as their Gospel predecessors, did object to th Catholic clergy, as an act of great criminality, that they di wear fine linen, and that their bishops were clad in purple and they quoted Scripture and the very words of our Lord for proving how correct their doctrine was. "There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day. And there was a certai beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full o sores. And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fel from the rich man's table: moreover the dog's came an licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: th rich man died and was buried. And in hell he lifted up hi eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, an

Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."[1] And when those good folk were asked what ought to be the dress of the clergy, they very readily exhibited: "John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. And there went out to him all the land of Judea and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the Jordan, confessing their sins. And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of skin about his loins, and he did eat locusts and wild honey."[2] So that if the doctor now reproaches us with some amongst us wearing hair-cloth, there was a time when they who are called the first Protestants reproached our predecessors for not wearing hair-cloth. But I put the hair shirt aside, for, except as a species of mortification, it is valueless. I believe, and the Church has always believed, that a man may commit gross crimes whilst he is clothed in hair-cloth, and another who is clothed in purple and fine linen may do many acts of virtue.

Obmutescence I shall place by its predecessor the hair shirt. In itself it has no merit, no value. But there are times, especially in religious communities, when silence is very useful for greater purposes than mere obmutescence. The archdeacon then used fallacy when he exhibited us as believing that obmutescence raised man to a higher degree of divine favor. In a religious community, similar duties are performed by all persons at the same time, and a very useful regulation is, that during the hours allotted to prayer, to meditation, and to study, strict silence shall be preserved, except in those cases where it is absolutely necessary to speak, and then so much only shall be said as may be indispensable, and in as low a tone of voice as possible, and visits of strangers shall be avoided as

[1] St. Luke, c. xvi, v. 19-25. [2] St. Mark, c. i, v. 4-6.

much as may be, at those hours. This rule of silence is then useful for prayer and meditation, which our Lord recommends as carrying men to a higher degree of divine favor, and is most useful to aid the study of divine truth, an acquaintance with which our Lord does strongly recommend.

Gloom is so vague a phrase that I do not know how to treat the topic. No two persons attach exactly the same definite quantity of the idea of seriousness to the expression gloom. I avow that gloom does not raise man to a higher degree of divine favor. The Church does not attach any merit to gloom; on the contrary, she wishes her children to enjoy the serenity and cheerfulness arising from a good conscience, and she commends moderate sprightliness. I shall only say for myself that I have intimately known many of the most severe monasteries of men and women, and mixed in some of the gayest circles of life, and I am not supposed to be gloomy. I found far more steady and consoling cheerfulness in those monasteries; I have in them found more pure and unalloyed enjoyment, and seen more genuine and heartfelt sprightliness, and found more true and luxuriant peace to reign amongst their inmates, than in the revels of the great, the banquets of the wealthy, and the balls of the gay. I solemnly assure the public that Archdeacon Paley did not and could not know, oh, he could not feel how erroneous were his notions! Many of my readers will be startled at my assertion. Upon an impartial and dispassionate review of my own observations, I would assert that almost the only earthly happiness I have seen come nearest to true bliss was in those abodes. For myself, I say the only days of true happiness I knew, were days spent in what the archdeacon calls gloom. As well might the negro who toils upon a rice-swamp, be expected to write such a description as Moore gives of the valley of Cashmere, as Archdeacon Paley or a novel-writer know how to describe the feelings of the inmates of a monastery, or the Big Warrior or Red

Jacket compile histories of the Grecian and Ottoman dynasties. Several hundreds of persons who lived in religious retirement have written, and very few of their expressions are those of gloom.

I now come to the topic, mortification. What does it mean? Subjecting the flesh to the spirit, for religious purposes, by occasional privations of what is pleasing to our sensual appetite. This is what we understand by mortification—celibacy, voluntary poverty, midnight prayers, watchfulness, etc., these are so many parts of mortification. All these have been recommended by our Lord as leading man to a higher degree of divine favor. Fasting is a species of mortification. In the Gospel of St. Luke it is said of the devout Anna, that she served God with fastings and prayers, night and day; this is mortification.

John the Baptist led a life of mortification, and was commended by our Lord as being mortified, "not clad in soft garments." "Moreover, when you fast be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: Verily I say unto you they have their reward. But when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat?"[1] "Enter ye in at the straight gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat. Because straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."[2] "Then came unto Him the disciples of John saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but Thy disciples fast not? And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride chamber mourn, as long as the Bridegroom is with them? But the days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then they shall fast."[3] "And he

[1] St. Matt., c. vi, v. 16-25. [2] Ib., c. vii, v. 13-4. [3] Ib., c. ix, v. 14-15.

that taketh not his cross and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me."[1] "Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which have been done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes."[2] "The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas."[3] "So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest of them even to the least of them."[4] "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."[5] "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee; it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire."[6] "Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest; go thy way and sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor; and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven; and come take up the cross and follow Me."[7] "And He said to them all, If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?"[8] "If any man come to Me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple."[9]

The passages here selected are but a portion of many which bear upon the subject, in the record which the evangelists have left us of our Lord's recommendations and

[1] St. Matt., c. x, v. 38. [2] Ib., c. xi. v 21. [3] Ib., c. xii, v. 41. [4] Jonas, c. iii, v. 5.
[5] St. Matt., c. xvii, v. 21. [6] Ib., c. xviii, v. 8-9. [7] St. Mark, c. x, v. 21.
[8] St. Luke, c. ix, v. 23-25. [9] Ib., c. xiv, v. 26.

ands. Now let us review them and collect their sub-
. We will find that He recommended: 1. Fasting.
eference of the spiritual to the sensual enjoyments,
to the length of being careless as to the quality of
ood, and the texture of our clothing, and the under-
g of a limb or an eye when our spiritual progress
be impeded by the retention of either, because spir-
progress would insure heaven, and it would be pre-
to be in heaven maimed, or lame, or blind, than
; all our limbs to be cast into hell. 3. The giving
t only of limb, but of life, rather than do ourselves
al injury. 4. The giving up the fellowship of our
t connections, if they interfered with our spiritual
ss. 5. The separation from the customs of the world
ated by entering at the narrow gate.
ides, He recommended under peculiar circumstances:
enting in sackcloth and ashes together with fasting,
is what we emphatically style severe penance. 2. Self-
. 3. Taking up the cross after having embraced a
f voluntary poverty, having sold possessions and given
oceeds in alms. Will Doctor Paley, after this, say
ur Lord did not recommend mortification? Did our
l Lord not then recommend what St. Paul practiced
informs us? "But I keep under my body, and
it into subjection: lest that by any means when
e preached to others, I myself should be a cast-
1 I acknowledge that the force of this passage is
erably weakened by the intentional mistranslation of the
verb, which in the doctor's standard book is in the
verse rendered into English by the word temperate.
roper translation may be found in the Catholic ver-
and is: "Every one that striveth for the mastery
eth himself from all things." Protestant translation:
y man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in
ings." I have looked into several lexicons, and
not find any authority for the latter translation;
mposition of the Greek verb requires a far more

forcible English word than temperance; the Latin, which has been used very early, is much more forcible than temperate.

But the 27th verse is still more distant from the truthful translation, for the word which is translated "keep under," in the Protestant version, is in the Catholic translated "chastise." The Latin given in Protestant translations is *obtundo*, I pound; the Greek word is compounded of two words, which signify much more strong expressions than keep under. I have indulged in this little digression merely to show one of the reasons why the Church does not acknowledge the Protestant version of the Scriptures to be fit for the perusal of her children. She has very many objections, one of which is that by a little softening of phrases in one place, and a little strengthening in others, it is not a faithful expositor of the revealed will of God, and is calculated rather to mislead than to direct. Now, in my quotations from it I have labored under a great disadvantage from this circumstance, yet with the whole weight of this against me, I apprehend that I have shown from the doctor's own version that he penned too hastily the paragraph which has been selected.

But to return to our subject; the Apostle tells us: "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."[1] But let us try the doctor a little by his own rule. In chap. ii of the "Morality of the Gospel," near the end, under the head "Character of Christ," the archdeacon favors us with the following passage: "Our Saviour's lessons, besides what has been already remarked in them, touch, and that oftentimes by very affecting representations, upon some of the most interesting topics of human duty and human meditation; upon the principles, by which the decisions of the last day will be regulated;[2] upon the superior, or rather the supreme importance of religion;[3] upon penitence, by the most pressing calls and the most encouraging invitations;[4] upon self-denial;[5]

[1] II Cor., c. v, v. 24.
[2] St. Mark, c. viii, v. 35; St. Matt., c. vi, v. 31-33; St. Luke, c. xii, v. 16-21.
[3] St. Matt., c. xxv, v. 31, et seq.
[4] St. Luke, c. xv.
[5] St. Matt., c. v, v. 39.

watchfulness," etc. "We are not, perhaps, at liberty to take for granted that the lives of the preachers of Christianity were as perfect as their lessons; but we are entitled to contend, that the observable part of their behavior must have agreed in a great measure with the duties which they taught. There was, therefore, (which is all that we assert) a course of life pursued by them different from that which before they led, and this is of great importance. Men are brought to anything almost sooner than to change their habit of life, especially when the change is either inconvenient or made against the force of natural inclinations, or with the loss of accustomed indulgences." "And lastly, that their mode of life and conduct, visibly at least, corresponded with the institution which they delivered, and, so far, was both new and required continual self-denial." "Then as to the kind and degree of exertion which was employed, and the mode of life to which these persons (the Apostles and first Christians) submitted, we reasonably suppose it to be like that which we observe in all others, who voluntarily become missionaries of a new faith. Frequent, earnest and laborious preaching, constantly conversing with religious persons upon religion, a sequestration from the common pleasures, engagements and varieties of life, and an attention to one serious object, compose the habits of such men. I do not say that this mode of life is without enjoyment, but I say the enjoyment springs from sincerity."[1]

Now, I would ask the venerable archdeacon whether he has not, in the character of our Lord and of His disciples and Apostles, given us a perfect picture of austerity, mortification, in fact of a monastic or conventual life? Of what does it consist? Self-denial, sequestration from the common pleasures, engagements, and varieties of life; conversation with religious persons upon religious subjects, meditation upon the supreme importance of religion, penitence, watchfulness; we have before, from our Lord's lips, been told of the fastings and repentance in sackcloth and

[1] Paley's "Moral Philosophy," c. 4.

ashes. Now what addition is to be made to give a perfect picture of a monastic life, except celibacy and voluntary poverty, which we have before considered? The archdeacon must destroy the texts of the Scriptures and his own pages if he wishes us to believe the sentence quoted was not a tissue of untruths.

But let me now go to the doctor himself for gloom, that is, proper seriousness upon the supreme concern of religion: "For as no one ever feels himself disposed to pleasantry, or capable of being diverted with the pleasantry of others, upon matters in which he is deeply interested; so a mind intent upon the acquisition of heaven, rejects with indignation every attempt to entertain it with jests calculated to degrade or to deride subjects which it never recollects but with seriousness and anxiety. Nothing but stupidity or the most frivolous dissipation of thought can make even the inconsiderate forget the supreme importance of everything which relates to the expectation of a future state of existence. Whilst the infidel mocks at the superstitions of the vulgar, insults over their credulous fears, their childish errors, or fantastic rites, it does not occur to him to observe that the most preposterous device by which the weakest devotee ever believed he was securing the happiness of a future life, is more rational than unconcern about it. Upon this subject, nothing is so absurd as indifference; no folly so contemptible as thoughtlessness and levity."[1]

The principle contained in this is that which the religion that I profess teaches. Serious attention ought to be paid to a paramount concern; no concern can equal that of eternity. But serious attention is not gloom; gloom is rather the companion of despair. But the venerable Archdeacon of Carlisle is not the only writer who has made the accusation of fanaticism against us for those practices. In every age he has had predecessors; one of whom he quotes himself in the close of his second chapter:

[1] *Paley's "Moral Philosophy," c. ix.*

"The constancy and by consequence the sufferings of the Christians of this period, is also referred to by Epictetus, who imputes their intrepidity to madness or to a kind of fashion or habit; and about fifty years afterwards by Marcus Aurelius, who ascribes it to obstinacy. 'Is it possible,' Epictetus asks, 'that a man may arrive at this temper and become indifferent to those things, from madness or habit as the Galileans?'"[1]

This was a general imputation upon the Christians, that they were fanatics, mad, unsocial, illiberal, bigoted, unfashionable; but this madness was taught by our Lord, was noticed very soon, and having a method in it, has been brought down to the present day amongst us.

V.

The only questions remaining to be disposed of, are: Did our Lord recommend the rigors of an ascetic life? Did He recommend the vows of a monastic life as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor?

The rigors of the ascetic life consist in the practice of those virtues which we have before seen were recommended by our Lord as carrying man to a higher degree of divine favor. I unhesitatingly answer then, the archdeacon asserted what Scripture does not warrant, when he stated that our Lord did not recommend it. But I also add, that every act done by every ascetic is not to be charged upon the general system. It would be bad reasoning to argue against the propriety of man's living in society, because in the social state he has opportunities and excitements to crimes which he would not know of and could not commit in a different state. It would be bad reasoning to accuse any body of men, generally, with the faults or the follies of some individuals of that body. It would be a fallacious and a wicked exhibition, if a man were to collect the catalogue of crimes and the list of criminals from the courts of a nation, and the catalogue of follies and the list of the weak-minded through

[1] Lib., iv, c. 7.

an entire region, and publish both as a correct history of that country. It is true every fact would be correctly given; no false statement could be found in the compilation. But I ask, would this be a correct history? The publisher would deserve at least the indignant reproof of the insulted community and the rebuke of every honest man.

There have been hypocrites and fanatics in the religious orders; there have been very few of the former, perhaps a greater number of the latter description amongst the ascetics. But every man who aspires to piety is not the Tartuffe of Moliere's imagination. And the history of the ascetics of the Catholic Church is very unlike the misrepresentations of their enemies, blending all the real faults and follies of hypocrites and enthusiasts with the immense fictions of the imagination, and either concealing the heroic virtues of persons of whom the world was not worthy, or giving such an occasional tincture of modified and compassionate praise, as would be necessary to keep some semblance of impartiality.

The vows of a monastic life are those of continence, voluntary poverty, and obedience to a regular superior. These topics have been before examined with the exception of obedience. Yet shall it be necessary for me to go through the examination of the question, whether constitutional obedience to a regularly appointed governor is virtuous? And if virtuous, does it not raise man to a higher degree of divine favor? And was not this virtue frequently inculcated by our blessed Lord?

Thus I believe it must be clear that the boasted authority of Doctor Paley is devoid of that truth which ought to be its support; and that what he is pleased to call the fanaticism of Roman Catholics is more like the doctrine of our blessed Lord than is what he would call "rational Christianity."

LIBERALISM AND LIBERALITY.[1]

I.

I HAVE often been amused at the use made of the ord "liberality," and at the vague sense in which it is pplied to religion. With some persons, a liberal man ieans a person who considers all modes of worship exactly like, and attends to none. With others, a liberal man is e who gives a preference to one mode, and says, at the ime time, that all others are equally good. Others consider liberal man to be a person who not only gives a reference to one mode, but avows that he considers some hers quite erroneous—at the same time that he considers me others equally good as his own, but does not oppose ther. With another class, a liberal man may consistently ppose some sects and support others, whilst he persecutes ne.

Let us for a moment examine those descriptions. The st exhibits to us an irreligious man. But if to be liberal be requisite to be irreligious—and that to be saved, it e necessary to be religious—I must candidly avow that I ve the preference to religion and salvation; and that I ould sacrifice the foolish, empty praise of thoughtless ifidelity to the substantial benefits of peace of conscience ere and eternal glory hereafter. Irreligion is not liberality. eglect of our duty to our Creator is not liberality. If iere be such a being as an atheist, he would by this be ie most liberal man in the world.

The second is an irrational man. For, if all modes of orship be alike, if all be equally good, it is quite irraonal to give a preference where there is perfect equality; id as preference involves choice founded upon some motive

[1] This essay appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. i, 1822.

after examination and comparison, the man who gives a preference and says he has no motive contradicts himself.

Another consideration will exhibit this more clearly. It is a fact, that all the systems of religion differ from each other* by their being contradictions to each other; by one asserting exactly what another exactly denies. Thus, one system asserts Christ revealed that in the divine nature there are three persons. Another system denies Christ's having revealed that in the divine nature there are three persons. One system asserts that Christ established several distinct orders of clergymen in the Church. Another system denies that Christ established several distinct orders of clergymen in the Church. One system asserts that Christ instituted seven sacraments. Another system denies that Christ instituted seven sacraments. And so, in every distinct sect, there is at least one distinct tenet of contradiction to all the other sects; and this contradiction is not upon a matter of opinion, but upon a matter of fact. Now, in matters of fact there can be no latitude of opinion; for it is strictly true, that the fact agrees with the assertion or disagrees with the assertion. Hence, if a man gives a preference to the assertions of one sect, it is ridiculous for him to say I profess to believe the fact to be as stated by this society; but he who denies the truth of that fact also agrees with me; though he denies exactly what I assert, still we both believe the same. This I consider to be the assertion of an absurdity, viz., that the same proposition can be, at the same moment and in the same sense, true and false. And as I do not consider liberality to be absurdity, I do not consider the person who answers the second description to be a liberal man.

The person described in the third place is exactly in the same predicament as the person described in the second; for it makes no difference in the argument whether the assertion be made that two hundred sets of contradictory propositions are at the same time true, or that only two *contradictory* propositions are true; still, it is the assertion ***of an absurdity.***

The person described in the fourth place differs from the third only in this circumstance, that he opposes by argument or by not supporting some of those from whom he differs; but he is in exactly the same predicament if he holds certain doctrines; and whilst he holds it to be a fact that they were revealed by God, holds also that the person who denies this fact may believe truth in the denial. This contradiction is an evident absurdity.

I have supposed, of course, all through that God has revealed certain doctrines, and that man can know the fact of God having spoken, and know what doctrine He did reveal when He spoke.

I have been led to these remarks by my desire to fix some meaning for the expression, a "liberal man," in a religious sense; for I know of no phrase more frequently used and less understood.

II.

Frequently the proper signification of an expression is only discoverable by ascertaining what it does not mean; and as every virtue is believed to consist in a happy mean, we should inquire for the virtue of liberality in a mean between extreme carelessness and infidelity on one side, and bigotry and intolerance on the other. I have examined the first extreme; let us glance at the second.

I look upon bigotry to be an irrational attachment to doctrines, joined to a hatred of all who have not an attachment to the same doctrine. Thus, there may be bigots in true religion and in false religion. Bigotry is not the peculiarity of any sect, but is the result of criminal disposition or weakness of intellect in an individual. A person may have an irrational attachment to a true doctrine, and the doctrine is not rendered false by the unreasonableness of the individual. A person may have an irrational attachment to a doctrine, and still have no hatred to those who differ with him; such a person may be weak, but not criminal. Bigotry is criminal, and

the criminality is the hatred which enters into its composition. Bigotry is a weakness, and the weakness is exhibited by the unreasonableness of the attachment. Bigotry is then an unreasonable attachment to a doctrine whether true or false, joined to hatred of those who do not hold that doctrine. It may now be asked, how can a person be unreasonably attached to a true doctrine? I answer, the truth of the doctrine may not be evident to him who embraces it, and therefore his attachment is founded upon no rational principle. I may now be told that all belief of mysteries is irrational, for their truth is not evident to man; as the very fact of their being mysteries is an assertion that their truth is not evident. My answer is very simple. To have evidence of the truth of a doctrine, it is sufficient that we have evidence of the capacity, knowledge and veracity of him who delivers it, and evidence of the fact that this witness testified the truth of this doctrine; and as we thus give our assent and form our attachment to the doctrine upon a rational principle, our belief of mysteries upon the testimony of God is rational. Thus, the man who is attached to the doctrines of religion, many of which are mysterious, may have a rational ground for that attachment. But he may also have an irrational attachment, but the quality of his attachment does not influence the intrinsic truth or falsehood of the doctrine, neither does it influence the evidence of that truth or of that falsehood. Thus, a bigot may be attached to true doctrine without that attachment having been produced by a rational motive; and a bigot may be attached to a false doctrine, and thus bigotry is no test of doctrinal truth; it is only an evidence of individual disposition—which disposition of hatred is criminal, whether the doctrine be true or false. My opinion is then, that the bigot is both weak and criminal, and every bigot is intolerant, but every intolerant man is not a bigot.

The ground of my distinction is this: I call a person intolerant who has a rational attachment to a doctrine, but *who hates those* who differ with him in doctrine.

evidence of truth is no warrant for hatred,
lly under a system which teaches to love our enemies;
ence, even where the individual has the evidence
ıe conviction of truth, and thus forms a rational
ıent to this truth, it is a crime for him to hate
rson who rejects that truth; for though he be com-
l to embrace truth, he is forbidden to hate his

intolerant or the bigot injuring the person whom
es, is a persecutor. All persons are agreed, that the
tor is not a liberal man. Now, as liberality is a
of the soul, and as persecution is but the evidence
lities of the soul exhibited by acts, the disposition
produced those acts is incompatible with the disposi-
a liberal man. Hence, I may conclude that neither
ot, nor the intolerant, nor the persecutor, can lay
to liberality.

at, then, is liberality? I answer, a rational attach-
o doctrine, without hatred or dislike of those who
from or reject that doctrine.

n the liberal man is not an infidel, nor a person
careless of discovering and embracing truth; he is
onsistent, he is not absurd, irrational, a bigot, nor
nt; but he is a person who, upon rational princi-
orms an attachment to a special body of doctrine,
es not molest or dislike those who differ from him.
es not sacrifice his own right of judgment, neither
e require any other person to make such a sacrifice
. He inflicts an injury upon no man, but he is
liged to permit others to injure him. He insults no
but he is at liberty to prevent aggressions upon
n character, feelings or opinions. He follows what
to be true; and as he loves truth, and feels it
y to be consistent, he cannot acquiesce in the asser-
at contradictions are true; and when a person who
from him asserts that difference, though his good
prevents dislike, his truth prevents his becoming

absurdly inconsistent, by stating, "though we differ in our doctrine, we are both right,"—because the fact is they do both differ, and only one of them can be right; and the assertion of truth is as essential to the perfection of man as either charity or courtesy. The liberal man then preserves truth, and courtesy and charity at the same time. The bigot and the intolerant may preserve truth, but they destroy courtesy and charity, they embitter society, and frequently shed the blood of thousands. The infidel, latitudinarian, and the speculator in religion may preserve courtesy and affection, but they destroy truth and debase the human intellect.

I shall conclude this essay with a short fable, which I have made extremely simple, and I trust not, on that account, the less applicable.

It was reported in a certain city that an extraordinary phenomenon had made its appearance in the vicinity. The inhabitants thereupon, in a public assembly, deputed three persons for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. After their return each was called upon separately before the assembly to make his report. The first gave his statement, and one of the old citizens rising up, remarked that the gentleman must have made some mistake, for it was impossible the facts could be as he described them, and gave his opinion of the manner in which the story would have a more credible appearance; he concluded by asking the narrator whether things might not have been as he exhibited them. The narrator, who was a polite, good-natured man, thought it would be indecorous to contradict an elderly gentleman, and said very possibly he was right, especially as he had experience on his side. One of the most learned men in the city next made his remarks, differing altogether from the last speaker and from the reporter, and concluded by asking if the view which he took was not right. He replied he could not think of differing with so erudite a gentleman, and that probably he was himself mistaken. Four or five others gave their several

s, with each of whom the good-natured man succ-
vely concurred, until the meeting was divided into as
y parties as there were speakers, who ultimately agreed
in one conclusion, that the reporter who had given so
y contradictory explanations was a worthless character
could not be depended upon.

The second was called in, and after he had delivered
report, he had to go through a similar ordeal as his
lecessor; but having less patience and more influence, he
l called upon his friends to punish those insolent men
knew nothing of the facts, and could know nothing of
t they never witnessed, but which he had not only
l but very closely examined. The tumult and uproar
eded what had before taken place, until at length,
ed and bruised on all sides, he contrived to make his
pe.

The third commissioner was introduced. After a cessa-
of hostilities had taken place, and when his report
made, several spokesmen began to controvert his asser-
s, to whom he calmly said: "Gentlemen, what I have
ed I know; your doubts cannot destroy my convictions.
annot force you to believe me, but I assure you my
ements are correct. You are ingenious in your specula-
s—you are inventive in your possibilities—you are plau-
e in your theories; but I am convinced that I have
witness to facts, and those facts cannot be destroyed
your speculation. Had I not blazing before me the evi-
ce of what I have examined, I might feel myself at
rty to select from amongst your theories, and some one
them might catch my imagination, or I could invent
to please my own fancy. But, gentlemen, I can never
ndon the belief of a series of facts of which I have
fragable evidence, in order to adopt a theory or system
opinions, be it ever so well constructed and alluring in
appearance; neither can I compel your assent to my
ements, unless you see good reason for so doing. Let
then, in the name of God, avoid quarrels. I shall be-

lieve those truths of which I have no doubt; you, of course, will adopt systems as you please. We may live in friendship, though we cannot think alike. But, without meaning you any offence, I can never believe it possible for you to have truth on your side in your distinct contradiction of what I know to be fact. My testimony to you has not been a philosophical disquisition, but a narrative of facts."

The decision was postponed, and the meeting broke up with considerable diversity of opinion, but with peace and harmony restored.

CALUMNIES ON CATHOLICS.[1]

I.

In the *Theological Repertory* for November, 1824, is an article headed "Roman Catholic Doctrines." After a most patient reperusal of this piece I find it to be a gross misrepresentation of Roman Catholics, conveyed to its readers in unbecoming language, and a most unfounded calumny of my persecuted fellow-countrymen wantonly introduced, together with some historical blunders.

Were this the first time that the writers exhibited zeal in attacking an unoffending Church and a meritorious people, I should have perhaps been satisfied to warn them of their errors in the hope that their zeal and their ignorance might plead their excuse. But the result of their late efforts being their total discomfiture, their zeal should have given way to prudence, and they ought to have studied to learn whether their statements were correct before they ventured to appear before a discerning public. I shall prove those statements to be totally devoid of truth, and they then will be left to choose between want of information and want of honesty. In either case they will be proved unqualified for editors of a religious publication.

I stated that they attacked an unoffending Church. I now ask them, what offence has the Roman Catholic Church of this Union given to them? What offence has the Roman Catholic Church of the United States given to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States? Do they answer? for I am at a loss to know what answers they can give. Will they have recourse to the old differ-

[1] This series of letters, occasioned by a violent attack upon the members of the Catholic Church, made in the columns of a periodical published in Washington, and conducted by several clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vols. iii and iv, for 1824-25, and were afterwards published in a pamphlet form.

ences at the other side of the Atlantic? Their Church is not there to be found. There is a Church like theirs it is true. But no theologian who had any respect for his character, would assert that and theirs to be the same Church, however similar they may be. However, this is not now matter for our inquiry. But suppose the Church of England and theirs to be, what they are not, the same; when, where, or how have the Roman Catholics of the United States offended their Church in Europe? What is the pretext, then, of their attack? They may recollect the fable of the lamb drinking at the stream, and asked by a wolf who drank at the same rivulet, though much higher up, why he made the water so muddy as to render it unfit for the majesty of the wolf. "Do you not perceive that the water cannot flow up the stream?" replied the lamb. "Perhaps so," rejoined the wolf, "but twelve months ago you made it muddy in another place." "Indeed," replied the lamb, "I was not born then." "But your father was," said the wolf, "and I will make you suffer." Thank God, however, the Constitution of the United States will not give Messrs. Hawley & Co. all the power which they would be disposed to exercise to our injury.

Will they point out any persecution of the English Church by Roman Catholics of America? They know that the massacre of St. Bartholomew, about which they have written so much falsehood in so few lines, was not committed by American Catholics nor upon Protestant Episcopalians. In this happy country Protestants and Catholics are united in bonds of amity, their intercourse is unrestrictedly affectionate. I, therefore, am totally at a loss for any reason why these people and writers of their description should be so anxious and so unremitting in their endeavors to interrupt this harmony, to create jealousy, to produce in America the miseries of European dissensions. The Roman Catholic Church of America has too long permitted herself to be assailed with impunity by every essayist in an unmeaning religious cant; it is time to exhibit their deformity. They

must show, not by declamation, but by facts, in what their Church has been offended by ours in these United States, or they stand convicted of having attacked an unoffending Church.

They have charged a meritorious people with crimes of which they are not guilty. They have accused the hereditary Earl Marshal of England, the premier peer of the realm, the Duke of Norfolk, of being in principle a traitor to his government, although that government, with the exception of about ten bigots in the House of Lords, has in the last session of Parliament directly contradicted them. What is his crime? He refuses to swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church. Is this a crime? Will they swear that he is the head of their Church? Will Bishop White swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church? Is Bishop White a traitor? Can the venerable eldest prelate of their Church be in principle a faithful citizen of this country though he should refuse to swear that the King of England is the supreme head of his Church? But that bishop did once swear that the King of England was the head of his Church, and he afterwards rejected that headship; yet will they dare to call him a traitor? Why, then, call men traitors who never believed, never professed, never swore to any such headship; whose ancestors were plundered of their property, many of whom dragged out their lives in prisons, several of whom were put to death because they would not swear what they did not believe to be true. Though they should even look upon those men to have erred in faith because they did not swear that the King of England was the visible head of God's Church, yet they must allow them the merit of having suffered for conscience' sake. But in the plenitude of their liberality, and with singular consistency, they who do not acknowledge it to be necessary for salvation to swear the oath of supremacy, tell us that the British and Irish Catholics who refuse to swear it ought to be persecuted, that they are on

a level with the wretched criminals who are sent to New Holland. What has the Duke of Norfolk done, what has the Earl of Shrewsbury done, what have the millions of Catholics whose grievances resound through Europe done to provoke their ire, that they, claiming to be American citizens, should thus sentence them to transportation because they follow the conviction of their consciences?

Look at their words: when they can produce no charge against the Roman Catholics of the United States, they arraign the Catholics of Great Britain. These are their expressions:

"Such are the doctrines of a Church, the members of which have raised such an outcry against the intolerant spirit of the English government for not receiving them to a full share in its administration. They might as well accuse that government of cruelty, for banishing the wretched criminals to New Holland; or of illiberality, for punishing the man who traitorously conspires against his country."

And is this the language of American citizens? Is this the liberality of an Association of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States? I solemnly assure them that such a possibility could not be conceived in Europe. And what is the crime of those traitors who are placed on the level with the wretched criminals who are banished to New Holland? They will not swear that the King of England is the visible head on earth of God's Church! This is the head and front of their offence.

Will the Quaker swear it? Will the Presbyterian swear it? Will the Congregationalist swear it? Will the Unitarian swear it? Will the Baptist swear it? Will Mr. Hawley swear it? Will any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church now swear it? And are all those traitors to be now sent as wretched criminals to New Holland? And their banishment will not be an act even of illiberality!

No! Mr. Hawley and his associates will not banish those good men; none deserve banishment as wretched

minals and traitors but those Irish Papists. Is this the guage of gentlemen? No, it is not. Is this the lan-age of scholars? Is it the language of Christians? No; t I shall leave to the people of America to designate character.

What is the head and front of the charge? No oath n bind Irish Papists to heretics. What is the proof? I all examine first the probability of the charge in the ecial case which they adduce. I shall then give the facts; shall then take up their general principle and their sem-ances of authority.

What are the facts of their special case? The English vernment tells its Catholic subjects: "You must be dis-nchised until you swear that you believe the King of ngland is head of the Church, and that no foreign elate has or ought to have any spiritual or ecclesiastical thority in this realm." The Catholic answers: "I do t believe either of the propositions to be true." The vernment answers: "I do not care what you believe, I ly want you to swear." To show that I state the case rly, I could produce several instances of well-known rsons who did not believe the truth of the doctrines quired to be sworn to, but who, pressed by the danger losing their property and their rights, did in a oment of temptation go into the Protestant Churches and ad the forms, and into courts and take the oaths, and ıblicly declare, as soon as they received their certificates ɔm the minister and the clerk of the crown, that they d not believe, but merely went through the form to mply with the law and to save themselves from ruin; d yet they were ever after considered good and lawful :otestants. Those disgusting recitals are painful to me; ıt these gentlemen have wantonly, I was about to add other expression, provoked them, and I suppress much ıich I would wish to forget. I was right, then, when I ıted the answer of the British government to be: "We re not for your belief, we only want you to swear."

The Catholics who continued faithful, that is, the Irish Papists, said: "We will not swear what we do not believe;" and their property was swallowed up by the men who swore. Yet Mr. Hawley and his associates are kind enough to say, those men had no regard for their oaths! Yes, the men who gave up their estates, their liberties, their homes, many of them their lives, and who could at once emancipate themselves by merely taking an oath which Mr. Hawley proclaims they do not consider binding, but which is all that the British government requires! Did I take that oath, I would have avoided many of the ills of life. Did my ancestors take it, my lot would not have been poverty and the contemptuous oppression of the plunderer of my patrimony, who, to gain what I lost, swore what, perhaps, he did not believe. But my conscience has no sting, and in this free country I may meet Mr. Hawley and his associates as they deserve.

In the name of common justice, in the name of common sense, I ask, is it probable—is it possible that those men who, sooner than swear one false oath to Protestants, permitted those same Protestants to run riot with their estates, their liberties and their lives, and those of their descendants, did not believe an oath to heretics was binding or ought to be observed?

Why were the Catholic bishops turned out of their sees by Queen Elizabeth? Because they would not swear what they did not believe. Why was Bishop Fisher beheaded? Because he would not swear that oath. Why was Archbishop Plunkett hanged, drawn, and quartered? Because he would not take that oath. I will not increase the disgusting catalogue which I could swell to thousands, in whose blood the contradictions to Messrs. Hawley & Co.'s libels might be written. They must be either totally uninformed as to the proceedings in Great Britain, during the last eight or ten years, or they must be the most careless of reputation or credit of any public writers that ever ventured to brave an enlightened public. The greatest

ot on the benches of the House of Peers, the most atuated old simpleton who peruses Fox's Martyrology, most unblushing declaimer against Popery, the most graded hawker of a paragraph for an Orange publication the British islands, would feel himself overwhelmed with ame and confusion, did he venture to express, within last few years, so gross a falsehood; though it was, party purposes, imposed as unquestioned truth upon the ople of Great Britain, for upwards of two centuries fore. This atrocious calumny, like the depositions of the v. Titus Oates, has long since been treated with its ll-merited reprobation in the British parliament. Lord afford has been replaced in his rank, and, notwithstanding e opposition of a very few bigots, the premier earl of gland has been restored to his honors, though not to s rights, without requiring him to swear what he could t believe. The King of England, the majority of the ers, and the House of Commons, with unanimity, voted at he should, though a Roman Catholic, be permitted to the duties of an office from which his ancestors and had been excluded during two centuries under false etences. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Percival, Lord Liverol, Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Canning, Mr. rougham, Lord Grenville, Lord Gray, Lord Erskine, and ndreds of men like these, pronounced, after close examation, this virulent charge to be an atrocious calumny.

Good God! Then is America fallen so low—is her tellect so debased—are these States become such a sink ignorance, as that all the rejected falsehoods of Europe e to find this as their asylum? Are we, who have led e way in the career of rational well-regulated liberty, to awl after the bigots of Europe, sucking in what they sgorge, that we may vomit it upon each other? I prost, I cannot describe my feelings whilst I write; I thought at I had flung the Atlantic between me and this necessity. imagined that the testimony of George Washington would ve had weight with the people of this Union. I did

hope that the recollection of Archbishop Carroll was not blotted away altogether. I am now to be informed that Charles Carroll has forfeited the good will of his country, has betrayed his sacred honor, has snatched his pledged property from the perils of the contest for freedom, or has shamefully skulked from facing the enemies of his country in the day when his services were needed. No! we will be told there is a sufficient explanation of this.

"The only reason why, among Papists, there are many good subjects of Protestant governments arises from the fact, that there are so many in the Roman Church inconsistent with their profession, better than their profession; having no idea of all the doctrines and all the enormous corruptions of the faith which they acknowledge."

And pray, do the writers call this a compliment? "Sir, you profess a faith having enormous corruptions." I shall not now stop to examine the theology of men who could use such an expression as "corrupt faith," just as accurate as "a false truth." "But, Mr. Carroll, you are a good man, but a very ignorant man; and the reason you are good, is because you are ignorant; for, sir, if your conduct and your belief were to be consistent, you would be a very bad man." I really must repeat, I know not how to write upon so disgusting a collection of arrogant insulting calumnies. I must pause to ask: What has provoked it? I do know many virtuous, amiable, excellent Protestants. I believe the doctrines of their Church to be erroneous in many instances. But if I know myself, I would sooner be deprived of my tongue or of my fingers than address to any one of them such a gross insult. I do not know, I never did know any Protestant friend of mine to be as good as his Church taught him to be. His Church teaches a very high and exalted morality. And when, in a friendly way, I discuss with him topics of doctrine, I do not find it necessary to calumniate and to insult him. If Mr. Hawley and his associates have no better foundation for the support of their system than the ignorance or vice of

ome of those men to whom their Protestant neighbors ould give honorable testimony for virtue and information, eir base is tottering indeed.

But what do they mean by calling America a Protestant untry? Do they mean a Protestant Episcopalian country? they mean to insinuate that the government of America ust be Protestant? Do they mean to insinuate that no apists shall be allowed to live under these Protestant overnments? If this be not their meaning their argument worth nothing, for their statement is, that "Papists nnot be good subjects of Protestant governments." I ow of only two Protestant governments in the United ates, viz., New Jersey and North Carolina. Yet, in those ates are to be found some Roman Catholic citizens who e amongst the best informed and most meritorious citizens our Union; men beloved and respected by their Protest- nt fellow-citizens; and I would not so far insult them, to say their oaths would be considered as good a pledge would the Rev. Wm. Hawley's. Thank God, I know any of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, ho will be amongst the first to clip Mr. Hawley & Co.'s ings should they aspire to create an established Church a dominant Church; and they must be reminded, that ongress has no power to make any law respecting the tablishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise ereof. This is then as much a Presbyterian country, much a Baptist country, as much a Unitarian country, much a country of the Israelite, and of the Roman atholic, and of the Methodist, as it is of the High hurchman. The Israelite in the desert often longed for e flesh-pots of Egypt and loathed the manna, for it was ry light food; he complained that the days were gone when he used to eat bread to the full; yet he pre- rred slavery to his Egyptian masters, who fed him well, going out in the desert in the freedom of a child of od. But repining is now useless; we have passed through e Red Sea; Pharaoh and his hosts have been overthrown, nobler destiny *awaits us; the* yoke of our bondage has

been cast off; and, perhaps, Messrs. Hawley & Co. w consider it an aggravation of blasphemy to add to imaginary curses of the Vatican, one other curse ag him who would lay it upon us again.

II.

Messrs. Hawley & Co.'s libel upon my religion and native country consists of a text and a comment—the purports to be an extract from Pearson's "Life of H the comment is their own production. The text is a representation of facts; and in their comment they falsehood, calumny and bad logic to a most uncharitable hibition of their zeal against Popery, as they are please call the religion of nearly, if not fully, two hundred lions of the present inhabitants of the world. These plain and strong, and by some perhaps will be consid bold assertions; others, it is probable, will give them a courteous appellation; but I shall prove their truth or content to assume the place which I now give our accu Recollect that this is their own seeking, not mine. writers left them unmolested—but they barked at our d they snapped at us as we passed along, they grin they snarled, and they growled as if we were thieves, they the protectors of the national rights of Ame Mark their words:

"If ever the Romish Church should be sufficiently po ful in this country, nothing but a loose attachment to essential principles will prevent its members from sei the torch and scourge of persecution, and illuminating benighted land with as many fires for our burning as blazed amidst the Protestants of France."

I would freely give more than they would that had never published this passage—"facilis descensus Ave Their pen was certainly dipped in gall when they w it; and unless fully true, and they certain of its t was it not a most uncharitable exhibition of their against the Romish Church to have written it? Of *Catholics* would do at a future period they could no

ı, unless they were gifted with the spirit of prophecy; ıs they very modestly and very properly lay aside all to those gifts promised by our Saviour in the Gos- f Mark xvi, 17, to the Church of true believers, they t be suspected of this miraculous accompaniment more of the power of healing the sick. Was it not then ncharitable exhibition of zeal against our religion to ıpt to rouse the prejudices of our fellow-citizens against pon the mere surmise of what our successors might bly do hereafter?

[ave they ever read of the Abingdon law, described by ıclitus *ridens*, which was first to hang a man and then ry him? Or have they read of the Lifford law in s Proverbs:

> That hang and draw,
> Then hear the cause by Lifford law.

ir Roger L'Estrange mentions[1] that when he was im- ıned for his unsuccessful attempt upon Lyn-Regis in , because Miles, the judge advocate, had not time to ıre the charges against him for the day originally fixed the trial, he was liked to be hanged first and tried , upon a charge which would be brought. And since ust avow my profanity, I have heard that in a play a ın Caleb Quotem, wishing to go to a review, whips all pupils in the morning so as to pay them beforehand their earning during the future part of the day, that might have leisure to see the soldiers without being bted to the children. *Apropos!* Was not Mr. Hawley ptain who marched to a review near Canada? Just so, Roman Catholics of the United States are to be de- ed over to the execration of their fellow-citizens, be- e it is possible that their descendants will burn future estants. Would it not be well to draw the horoscope nfants again, so as to spare the sheriffs the painful duty anging culprits, and judges and juries the loss of time holding trials; for, all future malefactors could with

[1] "Apol.," p. 8.

facility be killed and buried at less expense when only day old than in manhood? Two great advantages n would thus be secured. The crimes would be preven the golden age would return; and it would only be ne sary to baptize the infants to secure their salvation, whe our black-coated gentry undergo great labor to convert gallows into a path to paradise.

Oh! I would that they had never written the passa not because it makes the Church of the feminine gende one line, "her essential principles," and of the neuter g der in the next, "prevent its members;" for no per expects to find more than a semblance of English in monthly compilation. They have not the privilege of daily journalist, nor of a weekly publisher, whom the d frequently torments into inaccuracy. Neither have they r to plead want of time for reflection. They have an en month to concoct their doses. Their work is done deliberation, and if with malice, it is malice prepense. source of my regret is the transient pain which our rea must feel at perusing what they have forced me to w in self-defence.

But to return. Is it not a most uncharitable exh tion of zeal in these gentlemen to hold us forth to pu execration for crimes not yet committed, and which perh no one of us ever intended to commit? Their answer that our essential principles necessarily lead to the com sion of the crime. We deny it. Our essential principl "that we are bound to believe what God teaches, and obey God's commandments." This is the sole principl the Roman Catholic religion; this is its essential princi it has no other. All its doctrines, all its practices, r be conformable to this principle; they are nothing n than the application of evident facts to this simple pri ple. Thus if the Romish Church, as you politely style calls upon a person to believe a special doctrine, it is by virtue of this principle. "Believe the doctrine of t *substantiation*; not because I can demonstrate to you *natural* philosophy that the substance is changed, and

appearances still continue the same as they were before the change." No, no! This is not her address. "But because I will demonstrate to you that God revealed that such a change would be made by Him in the circumstances which I prove to you are here found." Thus she says: "If you calumniate your unoffending neighbor grievously, and publicly, and repeatedly, you cannot pass unpunished, unless you repent and retract; for I will show you that God commanded you not to be a calumniator, and declared He would punish you, if you transgressed, and farther, that He declared you would not be pardoned unless you repented, and still more, that your repentance would be delusive unless you made reparation for the injury which you inflicted." Roman Catholics have no other principle essential or accidental in their whole series of doctrine and discipline but the above single principle. No Roman Catholic pretends to say that his conduct is as perfect as the principle; but he will say that every deviation from the principle is more or less criminal, and that his Church, so far from sanctioning those deviations, unhesitatingly and unsparingly condemns each and every one of them. Thus these gentlemen and others style her bigoted because she will not assert that man is not bound to believe all that God reveals, and say that every man may receive or reject revelated truths as he pleases; or because when she has full evidence, which satisfies her that God revealed a special doctrine, she will not assert that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether man believes that special doctrine or denies it. Thus others who do not like to be too tightly bound up by precepts are kind enough to call her tyrannical and bigoted, because when she sees full evidence that God gave a certain precept, she asserts that He gave it, and that it is necessary to observe it. Others again tax her with being inimical to the improvement of the human mind, and too antiquated to be fashionable; because she says: "I possess evidence that eighteen hundred years ago God commanded this practice to be observed until the end of the world, and it is but a development

of this doctrine which He then revealed. But the truth of the revelation and the divine origin of the practice were both denied one thousand three hundred and fifty years since. Solemn investigation was made, and it was fully proved, decided and recorded that the revelation was given by God, and that the practice was by Him instituted. Here is an authentic copy of the record then. Here are the proofs upon which the decision was had. Here is evidence that the same was received and acted upon with almost unanimity until about two hundred and fifty years since, when persons in such a place again denied those facts and doctrines, and ridiculed the practice as superstitious and childish, and told us that the production of our musty records was but enslaving the free mind of man."

We have but one essential principle—we believe what God has revealed, we care not how long it is since the revelation was made, provided the fact be proved. We obey God's commands. We only look for the proof of the fact that He did give the precept; we will not try its reasonableness at the tribunal of our weak intellect, but we will examine the testimony by which the fact is upheld. We have no other principle. Now, we do not believe that God has either revealed or commanded that we should, if we had power, burn these gentlemen, nor that our successors should burn their successors. Therefore, it was a most uncharitable exhibition of their zeal against Popery to assert this calumnious falsehood—that our essential principles would urge us to burn them. Why should they be so much afraid of fire?

> The quirks and cavils thou dost make,
> Are false and built upon mistake—
> And I shall bring you, with your pack
> Of fallacies, t' Elenchi back,
> And put your arguments in mood,
> And figure, to be understood;
> I'll force you by right Ratiocination,
> To leave your Vitiligitigation,
> And make you keep to the question close,
> And argue, Dialetices.

Our essential principles, then, neither put torches nor scourges into our hands. And they ought to have known at least so much, for they are doctors in divinity. However,

> That petticoat about their shoulders
> Does not so well become a soldier's.

But I shall be told your principles are known, not by professions, but by acts, and we charge you with holding the principle, "that no oath can bind you to heretics." Now, we deny that we hold any such principles, and we trust they will not make the practical blunder which their friends at the other side of the Atlantic have made, in the philosophic and enlightened eighteenth century, and which they continue in the nineteenth. Mark the wisdom and philosophy evinced by the British parliament at the instigation of some wise men of Gotham and some learned Thebans, who were seated in dignity upon her episcopal bench. "The Papists," says some venerable Christian prelate, a light of the age, "do not believe that they ought to keep any oaths which they swear to us; to remedy this, I would at least counsel your lordships to make them swear that they will not perjure themselves." "His Grace of Canterbury has outdone Solomon in wisdom, and well becomes his lawn," adds my Lord of Winchester, "but I would suggest that, to guard against his using a papal dispensation, which he might have already obtained—for, my lords, our lot has been cast in anti-Christian times—as also to foreclose the possibility of his hereinafter procuring such dispensation, which might absolve him from the observance of such oath, it would please your lordships to add to the oath another clause, to the intent that the said Papist hath not already obtained, and will not hereinafter apply for, and if transmitted to him will not use any dispensation of the Bishop of Rome, relieving him from the pacts, covenants, promises, and obligations of his oath." Admirable wisdom! Profound philosophy! Consistent legislation! No oath can bind these Papists. The

remedy is simple—make them swear to observe their oaths! But after a Papist takes the oath, he can procure a dispensation from the Pope. Make him swear that he will not use the dispensation! But the Pope will dispense with this third oath. Make him swear again not to use that second dispensation! He has got a new dispensation from this last oath. "Miserable Papist, what are we to do with you? We cannot believe your oath. You will swear anything to serve your purpose. That horrible old man, anti-Christ, will give you leave to forswear and to swear! Come, put an end to the difficulty at once—swear as we all do, and be done with it. Swear the oath of supremacy." "No, for I do not believe its propositions; I would be a perjurer." "But we are heretics in your opinion, and you know it is a principle of your Church, that no oath can bind you to heretics; and besides, you can get the dispensation after the oath, or before it if you prefer it. you can have the dispensation in your pocket whilst you swear."

Now, I put it to these gentlemen in sober sadness: Do not the facts prove that we are a calumniated people? Do not the facts prove the absurdity of British legislation? If we were what the bishops of the Church of England have so often proclaimed us to be—is their wisdom greater than that of the Indian who placed the world on the back of an elephant, forgetting to examine upon what the elephant himself should stand? Oh! what an outcry against Popish ignorance, and Romish folly, and tyrannical bigotry, and remorseless cruelty, would be made if those prelates were in holy orders of the Roman Catholic Church! But they being good English parliamentary bishops, we should even put a cloud under the elephant's feet, to enable him to travel round the sun as softly and as much at ease as if he were moving upon woolsacks.

But Pearson, in his "Life of Hey," adduces facts which prove that the Romish Church, that is, Papists, that is well-informed adherents of Popery, that is, men who have studied

and been well educated, men of intellect—none of your *profanum vulgus*, none of your rabble, but the good consistent Romish people, Romish Americans, for instance, such men as Archbishop Carroll—to prove that those men hold it as a principle, "that no oath to heretics is binding." As for such poor wretches as the ignorant Irish Papists, they are so brutish in their ideas and such dolts, that it is impossible to teach them this sublime doctrine; "having no idea of all the doctrines, all the enormous corruptions of the faith they acknowledge." Thus, ignorance is now a blessing, because the more ignorant a man is of the principles of his religion, the more moral will he be. Call you this Christianity?

When I saw the wondrous quotation from Pearson's "Life of Hey," I looked upon my cause as lost. Pearson—Pearson—Hey—Hey. Was there not a Bishop Pearson? asked I of a gentleman whom I met. Was he not a holy father, or a professor of divinity, or at least some person who wrote upon theological subjects? I could find no one to give me information. I went to a very respectable bookseller. "Pray, Mr. ——, do you know such a work as Pearson's 'Life of Hey?'" "Yes, sir." "Have you got it?" "No, sir." "Do you know who has?" "I believe it is in the Medical Library." "What should bring it there?" "Sir, it is its most natural place." "And do our physicians study theology?" "No, sir; Pearson was not a theologian." "What then was he?" "A surgeon." "A surgeon! Who was Hey?" "A surgeon." "What in the name of wonder sends Mr. Hawley of Washington and his compeer to study theology in a surgeon's biography?" "I cannot tell, sir. But I believe Surgeon Hey, who was, I think, an Englishman, and lived at Liverpool, was considered to be a religious man. I think he was an Evangelical." "Are you certain he was not a Roman Catholic?" "I am quite positive he was not." "Nor Surgeon Pearson?" "Not at all." "So, so, it is from surgeons Mr. Hawley learns his theology. Do you think the book is in the Medical Library?" "Yes, sir."

I next met a medical friend. "Do you know, doctor,

whether Pearson's 'Life of Hey' is in the Medical Library?" "I am not certain. But," continues my friend, archly smiling, "what can you now be seeking for?" "I want to learn some theology." "Theology! Bless me! I thought you looked upon us doctors to be a set of infidels." "Not I. I have just been told that there are evangelical surgeons who write falsehoods, and my curiosity is quite on the *qui vive*. Do let me see Pearson." My search was fruitless. I could not find the surgeon from whom these gentlemen have learned to charge Catholics with holding a principle which they do not hold. But it soon struck me that they might have some reasons connected with their theology for studying surgery. I recollected that Surgeon Pearson or Surgeon Hey might be preferable to invisible physicians, for teaching where the liver lay, and giving some information on the subject of discharge of the contents of non-existent abscesses; and I cannot tell how my vision was strengthened, but so it was, that not even the "Star-Spangled Banner" could hide from my view these gentlemen's figures, as they anxiously counted their works of anatomy and surgeons' biography, to try if they could discover some new mode of proving impossibilities. This may be one of those day-dreams in which we all occasionally indulge. But it struck me, as they could not make the surgeons say all that they wished, they were satisfied to make the most of what they found. But poor indeed would have been the value of those gentlemen's surgical knowledge, unless it exceeded in correctness the specimen which they have given us of their historical information.

III.

I recollect having once witnessed the protest of an old gentleman, who complained of a serious injury having been done to him, and was answered by those whom he charged with its infliction that he had no cause of complaint because they had sworn to each other that they would give him no redress; and that it was a gross crime in him to expect

that they should become perjurers for his gratification. It may be well to examine the supposed facts of this case. The old gentleman was guardian to minors whose property consisted chiefly of rent-charges upon the estates of several persons who lived in the same vicinity, and through whose lands the old gentleman himself had a right of passage, with liberty to cut timber, and to work mines, and to carry away the produce. The proprietors began to quarrel among themselves, and wasted each other's property. Moved by his duty to his wards, by his feelings of benevolence, and even his self-interest, the old gentleman used his influence to bring about a reconciliation. Some of them proposed as the only mode of effecting this that he should relinquish his own rights and those of his wards, and leave them to fight it out until one should be vanquished. Others thought this unjust, and proposed to reinstate him in his rights and to pay the arrears of rent-charges, and to turn out of possession the persons who first called upon them to stop the payment: but at length they began seriously to consider of peace, as they were tired of war, and they found the principal obstacle to be who should pay the expenses. Again it was proposed to sequester part of the rent-charges, and to appropriate some of the produce of the mines to this purpose; so that all who fought should be indemnified, and the old man and his wards be made to pay for their benefit. The old gentleman protested from day to day, and still from day to day they continued to make their arrangements upon the principle of fixing the whole of their expenses and the amount of bribes and presents upon the property in his charge. Some, fearing that others would not be easily induced to oppose his claims if they should proceed to the spoliation, proposed to establish the bond of a mutual oath on all the parties to abide by their common decision, and especially not to yield to the claims of the old gentleman.

The treaty was made, the parties swore to its observance, and they refused the chief part of the rent-charge,

obstructed the passage, and took away the produce of the mines, and then divided the plunder amongst them, after which they kindly sent a messenger to inform their old neighbor, that they had settled all their differences, were good friends, and hoped they had gratified him by making peace. He complained of injuries done to him, and required redress. They sent their best respects, that they had sworn to abide by the terms which they had made, and he was, it seems, so ill advised as to write a letter, in which he published to them and to the world, that this oath could not bind them to plunder him, and that it was null and void, and that those persons who originally exerted themselves to strip him of everything, his sworn enemies, were its contrivers, and that this oath ought not to be kept to gratify them, but that he ought to have his rights restored.

The gentlemen of the *Theological Repertory* can have no objection to try this case by the principles of Archdeacon Paley, who was a dignitary of the English Church, by law established.

The oath taken by those peace-makers was a promissory oath; an oath by which they promised to each other to observe the stipulations of their treaty. The archdeacon says: "Promissory oaths are not binding, where the promise itself would not be so; for the several cases of which, see the chapter of promises."[1] "Promises are not binding where the performance is impossible." He follows on to explain: "1. But observe that the promiser is guilty of a fraud if he be secretly aware of the impossibility, at the time of making the promise. For when any one promises a thing, he asserts his belief, at least of the possibility of performing it; as no one can accept or understand a promise under any other supposition. Instances of this sort are the following: The minister promises a place, which he knows to be engaged, or not at his disposal. A father in settling marriage articles, promises to leave his daughter an estate which he knows to be entailed upon the heir male of his family."[2]

[1] "*Moral Philosophy*," c. xvi, part v. [2] Ib., c. v, part iii.

Now, in the case alluded to or supposed, it was impossible for the contracting parties to fulfill their promise without being guilty of injustice; and in morality, that which cannot be done justly is impossible, because it is impossible to be moral and at the same time unjust. Thus, although it was physically possible for those conspirators to plunder the claimant, still it was impossible in morality. They could not bind each other by an oath to do injustice, for an oath is not a bond of iniquity. The claimant then could fairly and properly and conscientiously answer them: Your pretext is frivolous, your object is bad, your oath is no bond; you ought not to observe it. Shall I lose my claim to what is mine, because you swear to do what you cannot justly do? Shall it be in the power of a confederation of villians to create a good title for themselves to the property of honest people by merely combining to seize upon what they please, and then partitioning their plunder and swearing that they will abide by their regulations? And shall the plundered sufferer, who says their perjury and rapine are bad titles to his property, be taunted with the imputation of caring nothing for the sanctity of an oath, and branded as too impious to be permitted to live in civil society, because he cries out that an oath is not a bond of iniquity?

Now, can my opponents show any difference between the value of an oath by which a man promises to give to his daughter that which belongs to her brother's son, and of an oath by which two men who commit robbery guarantee to each other the property which they have stolen? Will the title of the robber be better than the title of the father? I conjure them, then, by all the regard which they have for their reputation as sound divines; as they would avoid the vile sneers of wicked passengers in New York steamboats; as they respect the authority of the venerable archdeacon of a Church like theirs, and as they value the maxims of common sense and of good morality, to come into this conclusion: "That an old gentleman who has been

plundered of what are, *bona fide*, his rights, or of what he conscientiously believes to be his rights, by confederates who swear not to restore these real or imaginary rights, may believe an oath to be a most holy and solemn bond, at the same time that he asserts that those confederates have been guilty of injustice, and that their oath is not binding."

Now, having found our principle, let us apply it to our facts. Their surgeon theologian informs us: "When the Emperor and Roman Catholic Princes of Germany concluded the treaty of Westphalia with the Protestant Princes, they mutually bound each other, by a solemn oath, to the observance of it. On which Pope Innocent X published a bull, pronouncing the oath to be null and void: as no oath could bind them to heretics." So writes Surgeon Pearson, we take their word for it, we have not seen the surgeon's book. *Imprimis* then, I deny that this is true. I state that the Pope is here grossly misrepresented; not so much by the first part of the statement being false, as by a false coloring having been laid upon the whole transaction.

Now, this Pope is the identical old gentleman whom I described before; and this holy alliance of Westphalia was the confederation; and the negotiators were the plunderers; and the Pope declared the oath to be not binding, because it was a promissory oath, and a promissory oath would not be binding where the promise would not, and the promise would be null and void where it could not be fulfilled without committing injustice; and the Pope declared that, by this treaty of Westphalia, great injustice was done to him and to his wards, and that any oath to do this injustice was null and void. The principle of the nullity of the oath, then, was the injustice of the promise, and not the heretical quality of some of the plunderers. Other Popes had declared similar oaths to be null and void, long before such special heresies were instituted, upon the same principle, and when the oaths were taken by Catholics to *Catholics.*

Now, I call upon these gentlemen to produce the *bull, for they* know Surgeon Pearson's hearsay cannot be

ertain, unless they were gifted with the spirit of prophecy; nd as they very modestly and very properly lay aside all laim to those gifts promised by our Saviour in the Gospel of Mark xvi, 17, to the Church of true believers, they annot be suspected of this miraculous accompaniment more han of the power of healing the sick. Was it not then n uncharitable exhibition of zeal against our religion to ttempt to rouse the prejudices of our fellow-citizens against s upon the mere surmise of what our successors might ossibly do hereafter?

Have they ever read of the Abingdon law, described by Heraclitus *ridens*, which was first to hang a man and then o try him? Or have they read of the Lifford law in ay's Proverbs:

> That hang and draw,
> Then hear the cause by Lifford law.

Sir Roger L'Estrange mentions[1] that when he was imrisoned for his unsuccessful attempt upon Lyn-Regis in 644, because Miles, the judge advocate, had not time to repare the charges against him for the day originally fixed r the trial, he was liked to be hanged first and tried fter, upon a charge which would be brought. And since must avow my profanity, I have heard that in a play a ertain Caleb Quotem, wishing to go to a review, whips all is pupils in the morning so as to pay them beforehand r their earning during the future part of the day, that e might have leisure to see the soldiers without being ndebted to the children. *Apropos!* Was not Mr. Hawley captain who marched to a review near Canada? Just so, he Roman Catholics of the United States are to be deivered over to the execration of their fellow-citizens, because it is possible that their descendants will burn future rotestants. Would it not be well to draw the horoscope f infants again, so as to spare the sheriffs the painful duty f hanging culprits, and judges and juries the loss of time n holding trials; for, all future malefactors could with

[1] "Apol.," p. 8.

facility be killed and buried at less expense when only c
day old than in manhood? Two great advantages m
would thus be secured. The crimes would be prevent
the golden age would return; and it would only be nec
sary to baptize the infants to secure their salvation, wher
our black-coated gentry undergo great labor to convert
gallows into a path to paradise.

Oh! I would that they had never written the passa
not because it makes the Church of the feminine gender
one line, "her essential principles," and of the neuter g
der in the next, "prevent its members;" for no per
expects to find more than a semblance of English in t
monthly compilation. They have not the privilege of
daily journalist, nor of a weekly publisher, whom the de
frequently torments into inaccuracy. Neither have they ro
to plead want of time for reflection. They have an ent
month to concoct their doses. Their work is done w
deliberation, and if with malice, it is malice prepense. T
source of my regret is the transient pain which our read
must feel at perusing what they have forced me to wr
in self-defence.

But to return. Is it not a most uncharitable exhi
tion of zeal in these gentlemen to hold us forth to pul
execration for crimes not yet committed, and which perh
no one of us ever intended to commit? Their answer
that our essential principles necessarily lead to the comm
sion of the crime. We deny it. Our essential principle
"that we are bound to believe what God teaches, and
obey God's commandments." This is the sole principle
the Roman Catholic religion; this is its essential princip
it has no other. All its doctrines, all its practices, m
be conformable to this principle; they are nothing m
than the application of evident facts to this simple prin
ple. Thus if the Romish Church, as you politely style
calls upon a person to believe a special doctrine, it is o
by virtue of this principle. "Believe the doctrine of tr
substantiation; not because I can demonstrate to you
natural philosophy that the substance is changed, and

appearances still continue the same as they were before the change." No, no! This is not her address. "But because I will demonstrate to you that God revealed that such a change would be made by Him in the circumstances which I prove to you are here found." Thus she says: "If you calumniate your unoffending neighbor grievously, and publicly, and repeatedly, you cannot pass unpunished, unless you repent and retract; for I will show you that God commanded you not to be a calumniator, and declared He would punish you, if you transgressed, and farther, that He declared you would not be pardoned unless you repented, and still more, that your repentance would be delusive unless you made reparation for the injury which you inflicted." Roman Catholics have no other principle essential or accidental in their whole series of doctrine and discipline but the above single principle. No Roman Catholic pretends to say that his conduct is as perfect as the principle; but he will say that every deviation from the principle is more or less criminal, and that his Church, so far from sanctioning those deviations, unhesitatingly and unsparingly condemns each and every one of them. Thus these gentlemen and others style her bigoted because she will not assert that man is not bound to believe all that God reveals, and say that every man may receive or reject revelated truths as he pleases; or because when she has full evidence, which satisfies her that God revealed a special doctrine, she will not assert that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether man believes that special doctrine or denies it. Thus others who do not like to be too tightly bound up by precepts are kind enough to call her tyrannical and bigoted, because when she sees full evidence that God gave a certain precept, she asserts that He gave it, and that it is necessary to observe it. Others again tax her with being inimical to the improvement of the human mind, and too antiquated to be fashionable; because she says: "I possess evidence that eighteen hundred years ago God commanded this practice to be observed until the end of the world, and it is but a development

of this doctrine which He then revealed. But the truth of the revelation and the divine origin of the practice were both denied one thousand three hundred and fifty years since. Solemn investigation was made, and it was fully proved, decided and recorded that the revelation was given by God, and that the practice was by Him instituted. Here is an authentic copy of the record then. Here are the proofs upon which the decision was had. Here is evidence that the same was received and acted upon with almost unanimity until about two hundred and fifty years since, when persons in such a place again denied those facts and doctrines, and ridiculed the practice as superstitious and childish, and told us that the production of our musty records was but enslaving the free mind of man."

We have but one essential principle—we believe what God has revealed, we care not how long it is since the revelation was made, provided the fact be proved. We obey God's commands. We only look for the proof of the fact that He did give the precept; we will not try its reasonableness at the tribunal of our weak intellect, but we will examine the testimony by which the fact is upheld. We have no other principle. Now, we do not believe that God has either revealed or commanded that we should, if we had power, burn these gentlemen, nor that our successors should burn their successors. Therefore, it was a most uncharitable exhibition of their zeal against Popery to assert this calumnious falsehood—that our essential principles would urge us to burn them. Why should they be so much afraid of fire?

> The quirks and cavils thou dost make,
> Are false and built upon mistake—
> And I shall bring you, with your pack
> Of fallacies, t' Elenchi back,
> And put your arguments in mood,
> And figure, to be understood;
> I'll force you by right Ratiocination,
> To leave your Vitiligitigation,
> And make you keep to the question close,
> And argue, Dialeticos.

Our essential principles, then, neither put torches nor scourges into our hands. And they ought to have known at least so much, for they are doctors in divinity. However,

> That petticoat about their shoulders
> Does not so well become a soldier's.

But I shall be told your principles are known, not by professions, but by acts, and we charge you with holding the principle, "that no oath can bind you to heretics." Now, we deny that we hold any such principles, and we trust they will not make the practical blunder which their friends at the other side of the Atlantic have made, in the philosophic and enlightened eighteenth century, and which they continue in the nineteenth. Mark the wisdom and philosophy evinced by the British parliament at the instigation of some wise men of Gotham and some learned Thebans, who were seated in dignity upon her episcopal bench. "The Papists," says some venerable Christian prelate, a light of the age, "do not believe that they ought to keep any oaths which they swear to us; to remedy this, I would at least counsel your lordships to make them swear that they will not perjure themselves." "His Grace of Canterbury has outdone Solomon in wisdom, and well becomes his lawn," adds my Lord of Winchester, "but I would suggest that, to guard against his using a papal dispensation, which he might have already obtained—for, my lords, our lot has been cast in anti-Christian times—as also to foreclose the possibility of his hereinafter procuring such dispensation, which might absolve him from the observance of such oath, it would please your lordships to add to the oath another clause, to the intent that the said Papist hath not already obtained, and will not hereinafter apply for, and if transmitted to him will not use any dispensation of the Bishop of Rome, relieving him from the pacts, covenants, promises, and obligations of his oath." Admirable wisdom! Profound philosophy! Consistent legislation! No oath can bind these Papists. The

remedy is simple—make them swear to observe their oaths! But after a Papist takes the oath, he can procure a dispensation from the Pope. Make him swear that he will not use the dispensation! But the Pope will dispense with this third oath. Make him swear again not to use that second dispensation! He has got a new dispensation from this last oath. "Miserable Papist, what are we to do with you? We cannot believe your oath. You will swear anything to serve your purpose. That horrible old man, anti-Christ, will give you leave to forswear and to swear! Come, put an end to the difficulty at once—swear as we all do, and be done with it. Swear the oath of supremacy." "No, for I do not believe its propositions; I would be a perjurer." "But we are heretics in your opinion, and you know it is a principle of your Church, that no oath can bind you to heretics; and besides, you can get the dispensation after the oath, or before it if you prefer it: you can have the dispensation in your pocket whilst you swear."

Now, I put it to these gentlemen in sober sadness. Do not the facts prove that we are a calumniated people? Do not the facts prove the absurdity of British legislation? If we were what the bishops of the Church of England have so often proclaimed us to be—is their wisdom greater than that of the Indian who placed the world on the back of an elephant, forgetting to examine upon what the elephant himself should stand? Oh! what an outcry against Popish ignorance, and Romish folly, and tyrannical bigotry, and remorseless cruelty, would be made if those prelates were in holy orders of the Roman Catholic Church! But they being good English parliamentary bishops, we should even put a cloud under the elephant's feet, to enable him to travel round the sun as softly and as much at ease as if he were moving upon woolsacks.

But Pearson, in his "Life of Hey," adduces facts which prove that the Romish Church, that is, Papists, that is well-informed adherents of Popery, that is, men who have studied

and been well educated, men of intellect—none of your *profanum vulgus*, none of your rabble, but the good consistent Romish people, Romish Americans, for instance, such men as Archbishop Carroll—to prove that those men hold it as a principle, "that no oath to heretics is binding." As for such poor wretches as the ignorant Irish Papists, they are so brutish in their ideas and such dolts, that it is impossible to teach them this sublime doctrine; "having no idea of all the doctrines, all the enormous corruptions of the faith they acknowledge." Thus, ignorance is now a blessing, because the more ignorant a man is of the principles of his religion, the more moral will he be. Call you this Christianity?

When I saw the wondrous quotation from Pearson's "Life of Hey," I looked upon my cause as lost. Pearson—Pearson —Hey—Hey. Was there not a Bishop Pearson? asked I of a gentleman whom I met. Was he not a holy father, or a professor of divinity, or at least some person who wrote upon theological subjects? I could find no one to give me information. I went to a very respectable bookseller. "Pray, Mr. ——, do you know such a work as Pearson's 'Life of Hey?'" "Yes, sir." "Have you got it?" "No, sir." "Do you know who has?" "I believe it is in the Medical Library." "What should bring it there?" "Sir, it is its most natural place." "And do our physicians study theology?" "No, sir; Pearson was not a theologian." "What then was he?" "A surgeon." "A surgeon! Who was Hey?" "A surgeon." "What in the name of wonder sends Mr. Hawley of Washington and his compeer to study theology in a surgeon's biography?" "I cannot tell, sir. But I believe Surgeon Hey, who was, I think, an Englishman, and lived at Liverpool, was considered to be a religious man. I think he was an Evangelical." "Are you certain he was not a Roman Catholic?" "I am quite positive he was not." "Nor Surgeon Pearson?" "Not at all." "So, so, it is from surgeons Mr. Hawley learns his theology. Do you think the book is in the Medical Library?" "Yes, sir."

I next met a medical friend. "Do you know, doctor,

whether Pearson's 'Life of Hey' is in the Medical Library?" "I am not certain. But," continues my friend, archly smiling, "what can you now be seeking for?" "I want to learn some theology." "Theology! Bless me! I thought you looked upon us doctors to be a set of infidels." "Not I. I have just been told that there are evangelical surgeons who write falsehoods, and my curiosity is quite on the *qui vive*. Do let me see Pearson." My search was fruitless. I could not find the surgeon from whom these gentlemen have learned to charge Catholics with holding a principle which they do not hold. But it soon struck me that they might have some reasons connected with their theology for studying surgery. I recollected that Surgeon Pearson or Surgeon Hey might be preferable to invisible physicians, for teaching where the liver lay, and giving some information on the subject of discharge of the contents of non-existent abscesses; and I cannot tell how my vision was strengthened, but so it was, that not even the "Star-Spangled Banner" could hide from my view these gentlemen's figures, as they anxiously counted their works of anatomy and surgeons' biography, to try if they could discover some new mode of proving impossibilities. This may be one of those day-dreams in which we all occasionally indulge. But it struck me, as they could not make the surgeons say all that they wished, they were satisfied to make the most of what they found. But poor indeed would have been the value of those gentlemen's surgical knowledge, unless it exceeded in correctness the specimen which they have given us of their historical information.

III.

I recollect having once witnessed the protest of an old gentleman, who complained of a serious injury having been done to him, and was answered by those whom he charged with its infliction that he had no cause of complaint because they had sworn to each other that they would give him no redress; and that it was a gross crime in him to expect

that they should become perjurers for his gratification. It may be well to examine the supposed facts of this case. The old gentleman was guardian to minors whose property consisted chiefly of rent-charges upon the estates of several persons who lived in the same vicinity, and through whose lands the old gentleman himself had a right of passage, with liberty to cut timber, and to work mines, and to carry away the produce. The proprietors began to quarrel among themselves, and wasted each other's property. Moved by his duty to his wards, by his feelings of benevolence, and even his self-interest, the old gentleman used his influence to bring about a reconciliation. Some of them proposed as the only mode of effecting this that he should relinquish his own rights and those of his wards, and leave them to fight it out until one should be vanquished. Others thought this unjust, and proposed to reinstate him in his rights and to pay the arrears of rent-charges, and to turn out of possession the persons who first called upon them to stop the payment: but at length they began seriously to consider of peace, as they were tired of war, and they found the principal obstacle to be who should pay the expenses. Again it was proposed to sequester part of the rent-charges, and to appropriate some of the produce of the mines to this purpose; so that all who fought should be indemnified, and the old man and his wards be made to pay for their benefit. The old gentleman protested from day to day, and still from day to day they continued to make their arrangements upon the principle of fixing the whole of their expenses and the amount of bribes and presents upon the property in his charge. Some, fearing that others would not be easily induced to oppose his claims if they should proceed to the spoliation, proposed to establish the bond of a mutual oath on all the parties to abide by their common decision, and especially not to yield to the claims of the old gentleman.

The treaty was made, the parties swore to its observance, and they refused the chief part of the rent-charge,

obstructed the passage, and took away the produce of the mines, and then divided the plunder amongst them, after which they kindly sent a messenger to inform their old neighbor, that they had settled all their differences, were good friends, and hoped they had gratified him by making peace. He complained of injuries done to him, and required redress. They sent their best respects, that they had sworn to abide by the terms which they had made, and he was, it seems, so ill advised as to write a letter, in which he published to them and to the world, that this oath could not bind them to plunder him, and that it was null and void, and that those persons who originally exerted themselves to strip him of everything, his sworn enemies, were its contrivers, and that this oath ought not to be kept to gratify them, but that he ought to have his rights restored.

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The oath taken by those peace-makers was a promissory oath; an oath by which they promised to each other to observe the stipulations of their treaty. The archdeacon says: "Promissory oaths are not binding, where the promise itself would not be so; for the several cases of which, see the chapter of promises."[1] "Promises are not binding where the performance is impossible." He follows on to explain: "1. But observe that the promiser is guilty of a fraud if he be secretly aware of the impossibility, at the time of making the promise. For when any one promises a thing, he asserts his belief, at least of the possibility of performing it; as no one can accept or understand a promise under any other supposition. Instances of this sort are the following: The minister promises a place, which he knows to be engaged, or not at his disposal. A father in settling marriage articles, promises to leave his daughter an estate which he knows to be entailed upon the heir male of his family."[2]

[1] "*Moral Philosophy*," c. xvi, part v. [2] Ib., c. v, part iii.

Now, in the case alluded to or supposed, it was impossible for the contracting parties to fulfill their promise without being guilty of injustice; and in morality, that which cannot be done justly is impossible, because it is impossible to be moral and at the same time unjust. Thus, although it was physically possible for those conspirators to plunder the claimant, still it was impossible in morality. They could not bind each other by an oath to do injustice, for an oath is not a bond of iniquity. The claimant then could fairly and properly and conscientiously answer them: Your pretext is frivolous, your object is bad, your oath is no bond; you ought not to observe it. Shall I lose my claim to what is mine, because you swear to do what you cannot justly do? Shall it be in the power of a confederation of villians to create a good title for themselves to the property of honest people by merely combining to seize upon what they please, and then partitioning their plunder and swearing that they will abide by their regulations? And shall the plundered sufferer, who says their perjury and rapine are bad titles to his property, be taunted with the imputation of caring nothing for the sanctity of an oath, and branded as too impious to be permitted to live in civil society, because he cries out that an oath is not a bond of iniquity?

Now, can my opponents show any difference between the value of an oath by which a man promises to give to his daughter that which belongs to her brother's son, and of an oath by which two men who commit robbery guarantee to each other the property which they have stolen? Will the title of the robber be better than the title of the father? I conjure them, then, by all the regard which they have for their reputation as sound divines; as they would avoid the vile sneers of wicked passengers in New York steamboats; as they respect the authority of the venerable archdeacon of a Church like theirs, and as they value the maxims of common sense and of good morality, to come into this conclusion: "That an old gentleman who has been

plundered of what are, *bona fide*, his rights, or of what he conscientiously believes to be his rights, by confederates who swear not to restore these real or imaginary rights, may believe an oath to be a most holy and solemn bond, at the same time that he asserts that those confederates have been guilty of injustice, and that their oath is not binding."

Now, having found our principle, let us apply it to our facts. Their surgeon theologian informs us: "When the Emperor and Roman Catholic Princes of Germany concluded the treaty of Westphalia with the Protestant Princes, they mutually bound each other, by a solemn oath, to the observance of it. On which Pope Innocent X published a bull, pronouncing the oath to be null and void: as no oath could bind them to heretics." So writes Surgeon Pearson, we take their word for it, we have not seen the surgeon's book. *Imprimis* then, I deny that this is true. I state that the Pope is here grossly misrepresented; not so much by the first part of the statement being false, as by a false coloring having been laid upon the whole transaction.

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Now, I call upon these gentlemen to produce the *ll, for they know* Surgeon Pearson's hearsay cannot be

dmitted instead of documentary evidence, when the question ; issue is the moral character of two hundred millions of ersons, and the moral character of their predecessors uring eighteen centuries, and of their successors in all iture times. The charge is made upon the essential prin-ples of the Roman Catholic Church, which, as they very uly observe, never change. Now, to convict such a ock-full of prisoners, even their own counsellor would tell hem something more than the vague, unsworn statement of n evangelical anatomist would be required. Take the bull it once by the horns; show courage here at least. They who dared all the familiars of the Inquisition, and dauntlessly exposed themselves to fires which their fancy painted, to be tied with unfelt cords to imaginary stakes, should come forward and seize this bull. I promise them his horns are not as sharp as British bayonets; my country has given me perhaps the privilege of an acquaintance and of an exhibition to which they are not entitled. I may play here safely, and they cannot: the bull is harmless. But let them keep away, for the bull will hurt them, because of the very harmlessness; and still more, I am greatly afraid that a pair of surgeons could not heal the wounds which they have already received.

What in the name of prudence urged them to this bull-fight? Was it the suggestion of a friend of mine?

> So Spanish heroes with their lances,
> At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies,
> And he acquires the noblest spouse
> That widows greatest herds of cows;
> Then, what may I expect to do,
> Wh' have quell'd so great a buffalo?

Let me try what other principle we may agree upon before I bring forward other facts.

Pray, whose property is the estate of Trinity Church in New York? Do these gentlemen think the governors of the several States could legally deprive their trustees of that property and divide it between themselves? What

would they say to the Popish priest, who is delegate to Congress from Michigan,[1] if he had the audacity to suggest to some of the Radicals that it would be better to apply this money to national purposes than to building unnecessary churches in that city? We should then, indeed, have our ears filled with invectives against unprincipled Romish tyranny; then would the fire of wrath be enkindled, and the fires of the Inquisition would shine in flaming splendor. And why? The inviolability of property, the sanctity of charters, the limits of power. But suppose the governors or Congress seized upon the revenues and swore a solemn oath never to give it back. Of course my friends would have such respect for the inviolability of an oath, especially if it had been taken at the suggestion of this Romish American deputy to Congress, that they would support their bereavement in resignation; and even if the despoilers felt some qualms of conscience and had some misgivings, and consulted them as good divines, they would tell them: "It is true you robbed our Church, but you swore to keep the plunder; your oath is registered in heaven. You must observe it. As for us: God forbid we should be partakers of sacrilege; should you violate your oaths and restore this property, we should never obtain forgiveness did we touch one cent thereof; for it would be concurring in your perjury; from which may our good consciences defend us!" Do they call this theology? Something like it was taught by the first royal head on earth of Christ's Church in Great Britain. King Henry VIII taught it with a witness; his Vicar General Crumwell taught it: the gentle Cranmer assented thereto; the disinterested Somerset protected the principle along with Edward VI; Elizabeth was not impoverished thereby; and it was most religiously acquiesced in by all the bishops whom she and her parliament made. However, the doctrine has been somewhat antiquated—*tempora mutantur*. It is branded with little less, perhaps I ought to say a little more than the stamp of heresy by *his grace* the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of

[1] *Father Richard.*

all England; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland; by his grace the learned and conciliating, the grave, tolerant Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Cashel; by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Tuam; by his Majesty's Cabinet Ministers; by his Majesty's Lord High Chancellor of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, and by the Right Honorable William Conyngham Plunket, his Majesty's Attorney General of the same; and by all those members of the British House of Commons who, in the present year, accused Mr. Joseph Hume of the most sacrilegious criminality for daring to inquire whether the Protestant bishops and clergy of Ireland could not live on less than one-fifth of the land, though their flocks did not constitute the one-tenth of the population. Therefore, my opponents will not consider me profane if I conclude that it is not abhorrent to the principles of the Protestant Church of England, to say that Church property is inviolable, equally as private property; that it is also perfectly compatible with the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America to assert that Church property which is legally recognized, is to be sacredly preserved for the purposes to which it is destined, and cannot be applied to any other; nor is it lawful to seize upon it by force, or to usurp the same.

So far is it recognized as a principle in the State of South Carolina, that it has been decided upon appeal in equity, that where a Protestant Episcopal church had certain revenues, and was for many years vacant, and no minister of that Church could be had, and some of the parishioners invited a Presbyterian clergyman to officiate, he could not, upon the principle of doing what came nearest to the object for which the fund was created, receive a salary therefrom, because it was created for a Protestant Episcopalian, and not for a Presbyterian; and the court

could not in equity permit a fund sacred to one purpc to be given for a different purpose. It would be unj to divert the fund from the purpose of its creation.

Let us then in the name of consistency give the Po leave to hold the same opinion respecting Church prope of the Romish Church, that English Protestants h respecting the property of the English Church: that Am ican Protestants and American courts of equity do respecti the property of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Let give Innocent X the benefit of the principle now est lished, and by the application of obvious facts to t principle, we shall come to the proper result.

The question now is, whether by the treaty of We phalia the contracting parties did, against the Pope's conse deprive him of rights which he previously had; a whether the churches under his protection, and whose rig he was sworn to defend and bound to preserve, we against his will stripped of their rights and possessio This is a plain question touching facts, and easily solv by history. As, however, history is rather cumbersome, n friends, who wish to be at their ease, dispense with burden, and make sumpter mules of their surgeons. Th lay all the faults of their quackery upon invisible physicia and all their historical blunders upon intangible surgeons.

To know how a question is to be solved, we shou know its bearings. The rights which the German church possessed were the right to hold the property bestowed f religious purposes, the right to have the offices filled persons having the qualifications required by the dono and the right of having those officers appointed by t authority established and in the mode pointed out by t donors. The property was bestowed by Roman Catholi for the support of the Roman Catholic worship. The offic were to be filled by Roman Catholic clergymen of sever descriptions; they were to be appointed in some instanc by the Pope, in others by the chapter, in others by t bishop. The Pope had his own special rights, and w

moreover guardian and protector of the rights of the bishops, of the chapters and of the churches generally; he had in Germany special rights beyond what he had in other places, arising from two causes: 1. He was the creator of that empire. 2. The emperor was bound by several treaties to preserve those special, peculiar and eminent privileges and rights, and to prevent any infringement of them or of any of them. But in the treaty of Westphalia, he did grossly infringe upon them. Archdeacon Paley tells us: "Promises are not binding when they contradict a former promise. Because the performance is then unlawful."[1] The first promise of the emperors was to protect and to preserve the rights of the Church. To observe this, they were sworn at their coronation. The first treaties of the emperor were to maintain the rights of the See of Rome. It was for this purpose the empire was originally created. Therefore, a promise at the time of the treaty of Westphalia was subsequent to those promises; and would be unlawful if it contradicted them, and Archdeacon Paley says it would not be binding even if confirmed with an oath, for "promissory oaths are not binding where the promise itself would not be so."

Now, I put it to my opponents as divines: Is it lawful to take away from Trinity Church, New York, its funds and to convert them to the repairing of the Cumberland road or to the fortifying of Point Comfort? Or would the Rev. Mr. Hawley or the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine consent to the lawfulness of appropriating the income of their churches to the defraying of the expenses of the city of Charleston, in the entertainment of General La Fayette? Now, Archdeacon Paley tells us that "promises are not binding when the performance is unlawful." Suppose our friend Captain Carbery, whom my opponents abused for being asleep when his sister was cured, was again elected by his fellow-citizens to be Mayor of Washington, and that he swore the income of one of their churches should

[1] "Moral Philosophy." c. vi, part iii, sec. 3.

be appropriated to the procuring of a good mansion hou for the mayor of the federal city, would they give the money rather than permit him to be esteemed a perjure Suppose a good, warm-hearted, foolish countryman of m were to swear an oath that they should not quit his ta until they were drunk, would they be obliged to beco intoxicated lest he should be a perjurer? I hope this w not be found their maxim of morality.

The principle of law, the principle of morality is pr to this oath. Listen to their own archdeacon:

"The parties in those cases are not obliged to perfo what the promise requires, because they were under prior obligation to the contrary. From which prior obli tion what is to discharge them? Their promise—their o act and deed. But the obligation, from which a man c discharge himself by his own act, is no obligation at a The guilt, therefore, of such promises lies in the maki not in the breaking of them; and if in the inter betwixt the promise and performance, a man so far reco his reflection, as to repent of his engagements, he ou certainly break through them."

However, as my opponents perhaps will not be satisfi with a mere archdeacon of the English Church, it may as well to give them the doctrine of the pure days King Edward VI, with the approbation of her majesty Que Elizabeth, who committed the crime of living in sin blessedness—they probably know as well as I do what meant, *cum grano salis*. The Homilies have authority fr the ratification of the thirty-nine articles, together with t acceptation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ameri "But if a man shall at any time, either of ignorance of malice, promise and swear to do anything which against the law of Almighty God, or not in his power perform, let him take it for an unlawful and ungo oath."[1] "And finally ye have heard how damnable a thi it is either to forswear ourselves or to keep an unlaw and unadvised oath."[2]

[1] *No. 7. Sermon* of Swearing, part 2, paragraph 2. [2] Ib., last paragraph.

However, as Pope Innocent X had not the benefit of Dr. Paley's learning, it may be no harm to see by what light he was guided. I shall therefore make a few quotations from Popish authors whom His Holiness could have consulted, and in such dark times those little scintillations might have sufficed; though British divines might have been as much in error, as to the value of their authority, as the British soldiers were during the last war respecting the nature of fire-flies, when their scouts mistook them for sparks from flints preparing for the rifles which were to send them to a world of spirits. I shall, nevertheless, take one or two passages from St. Thomas of Aquin: "Some things are good under all circumstances, such as works of virtue, and such good things might be vowed or promised to be done. Other things are bad under all circumstances: such as things naturally sinful. And they can never be made the matter of a vow or of a promise. There are also some things which considered abstractedly are good, and under this view they may be the matter of a vow or of a promise. But under certain circumstances they may lead to a bad result; and in this view they cannot be the matter of a vow or of a promise. . . . Thus St. Jerome says of Jeptha, he was a fool in making a vow imprudently, and he was impious in its fulfillment."[1]

In his next question,[2] St. Thomas, after laying down his doctrine and its supports from reason, to show that a person ought not to observe an oath which appeared to bind to the performance of an unlawful or sinful act, produces the testimony of St. Ambrose, in those words: "It is sometimes against duty to fulfill your promise, to keep your oath: as when Herod put John to death, lest he should not fulfill what he had sworn." My opponents know St. Thomas, and St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose, and all those writers of my Church were fanatics and poor ignorant creatures, who knew nothing of the mariner's compass, nor of the art of printing, which Romish men, however, invented, but as they wrote a kind of monkish Latin, which I feared they could not un-

[1] "Summa," 2, 2d, q. 88, a. 11, *ad secundum*. [2] Ib. a. 7, *ad sec.*

derstand, I give a translation in English. Thus they w perceive the archdeacon of a Church like theirs and saints have agreed upon a principle; all that remains them and me is to find the facts and to draw the cc clusion.

We have seen what rights the Pope had in Germa or if they say these were imaginary rights, I will answe That he considered the rights to be in him: and t Catholic princes and prelates and people believed the rig to be in him. It is true the Protestants asserted that had no rights, and were enemies to his having any pow in Germany or elsewhere, and one of the complaints of t Pope was that the Catholics knowing the object of t Protestants to be the destruction of his rights, invaded thc rights to save their own privileges and purses. Thus complained that those men were led by their heretical pri ciples to try and bind Catholics to do him serious inju tice; and he declared that any oath taken to heretics to this injustice was not to be kept by Catholics, not becau the oath was made to heretics, but because it was made do injustice. It is, then, gross misrepresentation to publish the world that the doctrine of the Pope is, that oaths ma to heretics by Catholics are not binding. It is that falla which draws a general conclusion from particular premis It is that fallacy which comes to a general conclusion fr an accidental circumstance. It is faulty in several respec Such fallacious arguments are seldom used by honest me and when honest men use them it is only their ignora which can plead their excuse. It is a species of sophis highly discreditable to him who uses it; and it is that wh is almost perpetually used against the Roman Cathc Church.

The Protestants of Germany made several attempts to stroy the Catholic establishments. 1. By procuring disqu ified persons to be elected and installed into places which only Catholics were qualified. 2. By placing Pr estant laics in the places founded for Catholic clergym

3. By procuring, frequently by force and oftener by fraud, the secularization of Church property. What would my opponents say to the Roman Catholics of this Union did they pretend to be Protestants, and get elected upon the vestries of their churches, for the purpose of disposing of their revenues in a way injurious to their religion and beneficial to the Catholic Church? What would they say to them if they appointed Catholic laymen to fill the places of their pastors and kept them by force in those places, permitting them to hire Protestant clergymen at trifling salaries to go through the duties badly and irregularly, and pocketing large profits in the amount of difference between receipts and expenditures? What, if the Catholics had their chartered property seized upon and converted to the public purposes of the State, or divided amongst themselves? Yet of such a nature, as can be learned from the Protestant Archdeacon Coxe, were the facts in Germany. These gentlemen may, if they will, say that Popery is error, but does his error destroy the Papist's right to his property—to the offices of his own Church and to their income?

It is time to come now to the treaty of Westphalia. It was signed at Osnaburg on the 6th of August, and at Munster on the 8th of September, 1648, after a negotiation of two years. The Protestant powers together with Sweden met at Osnaburg under the mediation of Denmark. France, Spain, and the Catholic powers met at Munster under the mediation of the Pope. At a very early period of the negotiations, Chigi, the nuncio of Innocent X, protested against the injustice to the Papal See and the German churches, and withdrew. He succeeded Innocent in the Papacy by the name of Alexander VII. The negotiators foresaw the opposition which would be given by the parties whose rights they knew they were destroying. See what the Protestant archdeacon writes in his history of the house of Austria: "As the protests of the Pope and the King of Spain were foreseen, a particular clause, expressed in the strongest and most precise terms, established these treaties

as a perpetual law and pragmatic sanction, and declared null and ineffectual all opposition made by any ecclesiastic or secular prince either within or without the empire." There was besides this a special compliment paid to the Pope quite in the Lutheran fashion at that day, of placing him in a stipulation of the treaty in that company which it was thought was most appropriate. The archdeacon gives it to us in these words: "The principal contracting parties were allowed to include their allies, if nominated within a certain period, and received by common consent; and the different powers, specified under the sanction of this article, comprised all the European States, except the Pope and the Turkish Sultan."

We shall now see the Church property, which was conveyed away to indemnify the belligerents, and the whole Church property of the several denominations in the United States is far less than the Catholic Church was stripped of by this treaty: "Sweden obtained the Archbishopric of Bremen, secularized and converted into a duchy; and the Bishopric of Verden, secularized and converted into a principality. The Elector of Brandenburg, in return for part of Pomerania, ceded to Sweden, obtained the Archbishopric of Magdeburgh, secularized and converted into a duchy; the Bishopric of Halberstadt, converted into a principality; the Bishopric of Minden, converted into a principality; the Bishopric of Cammin, converted into a principality. The house of Brunswick Lüneburg, in return for the patronage in the Catholic Church, lost by its leaving the Catholic religion, received the property of the convents of Walkenrid and Groningen, and the alternate possession for one of the younger sons of the house of Hanover, of the revenues of the Bishopric of Osnabrück, the Bishop, a Roman Catholic, to have the alternation. By virtue of this clause, his Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, and heir-apparent to the British throne, has received the income to the see of Osnabrück during the last sixty-one years, leaving the Catholics to find some way of

supporting their Church, without the income left by their predecessors for that purpose. The Duke of Mecklenburg received the Bishopric of Schwerin, converted into a secular principality; the Bishopric of Ratzeburg, converted into a principality; two commanderies of the religious order of Knights of St. John. William, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had no claim whatever for satisfaction or indemnity, because he had suffered no loss: by the support of the Swedes, and because his father was one of the first German princes who joined Gustavus Adolphus in opposition to the Catholics, obtained the princely possessions of the Abbey of Hirschfeld as a secular domain." Besides those special enumerations, a vast quantity of Catholic Church property was alienated indirectly by several other articles of the treaty; and a great many of the ancient and undoubted rights of the See of Rome and of the Church were destroyed. My object is sufficiently answered by the general notice here given. I wished to show that the Pope complained steadily, constantly, and loudly, not that Catholics and Protestants made a fair treaty, and that Catholics ought not to observe an oath sworn to Protestants; but that Catholics and Protestants made a treaty to enrich each other by plundering the Church, and that he felt himself called upon to protest against the spoliation as an act of gross injustice, and to declare the pretext of the bond of an oath between the contracting parties to be a frivolous pretext, because the oath was not binding.

This is the view which the principles of morality and the facts of history give of the case. I then unhesitatingly assert that the act of Innocent X was not immoral, and that it is a calumny of a very gross kind to assert that he taught, or that Catholics believe, that Catholics are not bound by their oaths to heretics. It manifests either a total ignorance of facts or a total absence of moral feeling in the writer who deliberately publishes the proposition; and now I leave my opponents and Surgeon Pearson to share their well-deserved honors between them.

IV

Some persons are of opinion that I treat my opponents with too much severity; "for," say they, "this priest ought to make some allowance for the ignorance of facts under which the Rev. Mr. Hawley and his associates labor. These gentlemen are well disposed, but though they have studied divinity and are zealous preachers, they have not studied history to a sufficient extent to know all those things." Shall I admit this excuse for them, and against myself? Am I, and my religion, and my country to be held up to execration, without redress? Are Roman Catholics to be libelled with impunity? Are the great majority of the people of Ireland, and nearly a million of the respectable and best conducted peers, baronets, gentry, merchants, and other inhabitants of Great Britain to be denounced as traitors, who are on equal footing only with the wretched convicts who are transported to New Holland? And am I to suffer all this, merely because my opponents are ignorant? If their advocates have no better excuse, they had better continue silent. Would to God they had been silent! I should never have disturbed their literary somnambulism had they not contrived to grope us out and seize upon us for destruction. They left us no alternative. We should either, before all the citizens of the Union, acquiesce in the truth of their horrible charges, and thus acknowledge ourselves too base and too wicked to be admitted into these republics, or we should prove their intentional falsehood or their total ignorance. They left us no choice. I differ, therefore, with their apologists, and must proceed.

Their next allegation is derived from their doctor: "In 1768, when an oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, containing a declaration of abhorrence of the doctrine, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, and that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered: Thomas Maria Ghillini, the Pope's legate

at Brussels, made the following observations on that oath, in four letters to the archbishops of Ireland: that these doctrines are defended by most Catholic nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice: that as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it is invalid: that it can by no means bind or oblige consciences. It was with reference to, and to guard against, these dangerous Popish tenets, that the following clauses were inserted in an oath of allegiance intended to have been taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland: 'I do swear, that I do from my heart detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated by the Pope, or by any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects,' etc. Before this oath could receive the sanction of the legislature, it was condemned by the vicars apostolical of the western, northern, and southern districts, in an encyclical letter addressed to all the faithful clergy and laity of those districts."

Now, I am perfectly at a loss to know whether it is upon my opponents or upon Surgeon Pearson the weight of all the blunders and misrepresentations of this precious collection ought to be laid. I have not seen the surgeon's work, from which it purports to be an extract. I do not know whether there is anything in the book to let the reader know that all this ought not to refer to Ireland; but I do know, that here it appears to refer to the Roman Catholics of Ireland only; except so far as Legate Ghillini and the Papists at large are calumniated. I shall therefore place the whole to my opponents' debit, and they and their surgeon will be at full liberty to settle their own accounts as they think proper.

Leaving the legate and the general imputation for awhile, let us see the other allegations: 1. They assert that the clause which they favor us with, was inserted in an oath intended to be taken by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. 2. That it was so inserted, for the purpose of guarding

against these Popish tenets which they have adduced, vi that faith was not to be kept with heretics; and ne that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be depos or murdered. 3. That in 1768 parliament contemplat framing an oath of allegiance for the Roman Catholics Ireland, containing a declaration of abhorence of these d trines. 4. That this oath was condemned by the vic apostolical of the northern, western, and southern distric before it could receive the sanction of the legislature.

I beg leave to inform them, that each and every c of the above four propositions is a distinct falsehoo 1. The clause they adduce was never inserted in any oa offered to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, nor in a oath intended for them by the Irish parliament, which w their legislature at the time. 2. That clause not havi been introduced into the oath intended for them, could n have been introduced for a special purpose. 3. In t year 1768, the Irish parliament did not contemplate oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman Catholi Lord Townshend was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a the parliament was occupied chiefly with the octennial bi and that regarding the judges, until its separation in Jun It did not meet again until October, 1769: and duri the entire administration of this lord, which did not t minate until 1772, no question about the Roman Catholi was raised or considered of in the legislature. 4. The were no vicars apostolical in Ireland, and the Engli vicars apostolical had no concern with the Irish oath, a issued no circular or encyclical letter, either in approbati or in contradiction thereof.

I might, so far as my opponents are concerned, r here, satisfied with having exhibited their total ignoran of facts; but my object is not to treat them as th richly deserve. I candidly avow, that from the specime of their theological and historical knowledge which I ha seen, I should be but little inclined to waste even my i *upon them;* but, as I feel every inclination to tr

respectfully those who may read my effusions, I owe it to them, even at the hazard of being tedious, to show that I make no unfounded assertions. I shall, therefore, give as briefly as I can a statement of facts and an exhibition of documents which will correct misrepresentations.

In 1757, the Duke of Bedford was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. During many years previous, the Catholics had not only been ground down, but they suffered under a persecution worse than any bodily torture; such a persecution as the writers of the *Theological Repertory* endeavor to continue—the persecution of calumny. To an upright mind, it is the worst species of infliction. I feel, at this moment, a conflict within myself which is most painful. I know the precept of forgiveness which my Redeemer obliges me to observe, and I feel the tortures of their cruel injustice. I know the avowal will gratify them; but let them enjoy it. God knows I do not envy them. Yet this precept, notwithstanding, I wish they could feel as I do: the torture of being publicly vilified by ——— I shall not write what I feel. Besides brutal oppression, the Irish Catholic felt then more than I now feel, and what, if these gentlemen once felt, if they had even the shred of the remnant of a heart, they would never inflict: the torture of being painted in every deformity which they detested. In that duke my ancestors found, what, notwithstanding foul falsehoods from men who preach not to bear false witness, I found in America—a kind Protestant friend. Such an unwonted, such an unexpected, such an extraordinary discovery, gave them courage and gratitude; and the following extract from the address of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin to the laity was an exhibition of their feelings. Read it. It is the modest remonstrance of good and persecuted men, conscious of integrity, but scarcely venturing to insinuate that they had been calumniated, though they groaned under the calumny. Oh! may God long preserve and fortify the principle which leaves every man in America at full liberty to reply to his

defamer in language which, though perhaps too warm, still less severe than a defamer deserves; especially o who flings about him the mantle of religion, and ca upon his fellow-citizens, as they love God, to execrate th neighbor.

"But as we have not a more effectual method of sho ing our acknowledgment to our temporal governors than an humble, peaceful, and obedient behavior, as hitherto, earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy a Christian disposition, and thus by degrees you will entire efface in their minds those evil impressions which ha been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industrious propagated by our enemies. A series of more than six years spent with a pious resignation under the hardshi of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfi ness for the lenity and moderation with which they we executed, ever since the accession of the present roy family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in t minds of all unbiased persons, any misconceived opinio of the doctrine and tenets of our holy Church.

"You know that it has always been our constant pra tice as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with t greatest horror for thefts, frauds, murders and the li abominable crimes, as being contrary to the laws of G and nature, destructive of civil society, condemned by o holy Church, which so far from justifying them on t score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delive the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over Satan.

"We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting y to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming; dete able vices to which the poorer sort of our people a most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain fr them.

"*It is probable, that from hence some people ha taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumn*

we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently perjure ourselves, as if we believed that any power i earth could authorize such damnable practices, or t dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel charge is, you know by our instructions to you, both in ic and private, in which we have ever condemned such ines as false and impious.

Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant vior of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the gest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing ake oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal est, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the prin- s of their religion."[1]

n the year 1757, the Catholic Committee was formed, and venerable Dr. O'Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, founder of the College of St. Patrick, at Carlow, pre- sly proposed to a meeting, of which Lord Trimbleston chairman, a declaration of Roman Catholic tenets as rded the calumnies with which they were assailed and lted, and which declaration was adopted and signed nimously. This declaration then, be it remembered, was rn up by a Catholic bishop, and proposed by a Catho- bishop, and unanimously adopted by the Catholic Com- ee, and signed by clergy and laity, and sent to Rome he authentic act and deed of an Irish Catholic diocese, there received without condemnation, in 1757, which full eleven years before the period alluded to by the eon. This declaration, amongst other things, contains following:

'Whereas, certain opinions and principles inimical to l order and government, have been attributed to the olics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and reas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove imputations; and to give the most full and ample faction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no iple whatever, incompatible with our duty as men or

[1] Extract from an Address to the Laity, read from the Altars of the Roman Catholic churches of Dublin, Sunday, Oct. 2, 1757.

as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, ci
or religious; now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for
removal of all such imputations, and in deference to
opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individu
among our Protestant brethren, do hereby in the face
our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this
deliberate and solemn declaration: 1. We abjure, disavow,
condemn the opinion, that princes excommunicated by
Pope or Council, or by any ecclesiastical authority wh
soever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by th
subjects, or by any other persons. We hold such doctri
in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare t
we do not believe that either the Pope, with or with
a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ec
siastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of t
kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to
majesty King George, who is, by authority of parliame
the lawful king of this realm. 2. We abjure, condemn,
detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that
is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure
person whatsoever, for, or under the pretext of being he
tics; and we solemnly declare before God, that we beli
no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever
justified or excused by or under the pretence or co
that it was done either for the good of the Church,
in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. 3.
further declare that we hold it as an unchristian
impious principle 'that no faith is to be kept with he
tics.' This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only
contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morali
society, and even common honesty; and it is our fi
belief, that an oath made to any person, not of the Cat
lic religion, is equally binding as if we made it to
Catholic whatsoever. 4. We have been charged with ho
ing as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with
without the authority of a general council, or that cert
ecclesiastical powers, can acquit or absolve us before G

from our oath of allegiance or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man: now, we do utterly renounce, abjure and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief—as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion."

Look at this document; and if my opponents have a particle of feeling, can they dare to ascend the pulpit of the God of truth without seeking pardon for their gross, their uncalled-for libel upon a people persecuted in a manner too shocking to be related? This declaration was drawn up by a Catholic bishop, it was subscribed by the clergy and the laity, and it was registered in Rome, and published in Ireland over ten, nearly eleven years before their assumed date.

The fact of Dr. Ghillini's interference, at a subsequent period, I am ready to admit and to show that it does not bear upon the question between them and me.

That question is, whether the doctrines imputed by them to the Irish Catholics, and here rejected by Irish Catholics, were held by Irish Catholics. Another question will be, were they or are they Catholic, or in my opponents' uncourteous phraseology, Popish doctrines. I will now suppose against the fact, that they were held by the legate at Brussels. My answer is as short as was that of Father O'Leary, viz.: "Mr. Ghillini is not the Roman Catholic Church; he is not infallible."

The Roman Catholics were not noticed until 1773, when two bills were brought into parliament to enable them to lend money upon mortgage and to take leases of land for lives, under certain provisos. But both were rejected. Next year, 1774, on the 5th of March, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable them to testify their allegiance, and it passed without opposition; but it remitted no pain or penalty to which they were liable. It received the royal assent upon the 2d of June. So that in my

opponents' statement of 1768, they made another mistake of six years; but to them such inaccuracies are trifles. Great men who are occupied in deep philosophical researches, and whose meditations are made amidst the piles of the patriarchal tomes, cannot be expected to be good chronologists—and, indeed, 1768 was a good guess for either 1757 or 1774. But the misfortune is, that the parliament never contemplated the oath until the latter period. My opponents ought, however, to be forgiven this mistake. I would myself warrant they will never forget the dates again.

As they may like to know the history of the oath, I shall give it to them, and they will be the more interested in it, as a truly respectable Protestant bishop, one whose memory, Papist as I am, I respect, took a creditable part in the transaction. It will also show that they who are not bishops, and are not — — — however, I shall not write what I think, cannot be so much blamed for ignorance upon a point on which this great and good man was for a long time unenlightened. The following is an extract from the "Life of O'Leary," by the Reverend Thomas R. England, brother to the Bishop of Charleston:

"The act is said to have originated from the following occurrence: The celebrated Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, whilst at dinner one day, with the professors of one of the Irish colleges in France, feelingly lamented the hard necessity which his learned and amiable countrymen were under, of spending in foreign countries the most valuable portion of their lives; still he could not see, he added, why they refused to their native sovereign that allegiance and fidelity which distinguish their conduct towards the continental monarchs in whose dominions the Irish colleges were situated. For his part, he wished the Catholics to enjoy freedom of conscience; but until they were found to renounce the opinions generally entertained by them—opinions which militated against the lives of those whom they termed heretics, the safety of the throne, and the obliga-

tions of an oath—he could not so far forget what he owed to the peace and security of the country, as to show them any countenance there. This declaration gave rise to a conversation of some length; in the course of which the noble guest learned the willingness of the Catholics, as stated to him, to afford every proof of temporal allegiance that could be required from subjects; and moreover, their hearty abhorrence of the opinions imputed to them of holding no faith with heretics, and of being prepared, at every intimation from their religious superiors, to trample upon the obligations of an oath. These statements were, upon his return home, circulated by his lordship among his political friends, and as the Catholics were gradually growing on the good will of some members of the administration, the subject was very generally and freely canvassed. The late venerable Lord Taafe, Charles O'Connor (a man whose name will ever be dear to Ireland), Mr. Wise, of Waterford, Mr. R. Dermott, and some other gentlemen who acted as a committee for the Catholic body, after consulting with the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, drew up the form of an oath, which they professed their willingness and anxiety to take as an evidence of their loyalty," etc.[1]

Such is the history of the first declaration. Next of the oath of 1774, regarding which my opponents made so many mistakes. It is but right now to give them a few passages from the oath itself, which was indeed formed upon the declaration: "And I do swear, that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious the belief that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics: and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of

[1] P. 68.

Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatever; and I do promise that I will not hold, maintain or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: and I do declare, that I do not believe the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, State, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in this realm."

All this is clear: 1. The declaration and the oath both distinctly reject and condemn as unchristian and impious that it is lawful to murder or destroy heretics for heresy or under that pretence. 2. They both distinctly reject and condemn as unchristian and impious, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. 3. The oath declares that it is not a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, that princes excommunicated may be deposed or murdered; but it admits that such an opinion was held by some individuals. The juror declares he rejects and abjures the opinion. Upon this head the declaration is more accurately worded than the oath, though their meaning is precisely the same.

And if ever I wished for any portion of the spirit of Cervantes, of Butler, or of Swift—it were to be able to describe as I ought the folly which endeavors to conceal its own injustice and errors by its laughable absurdity. The Catholics had been represented as not valuing the sanctity of an oath; the proof of the charge was that they permitted themselves to be plundered and enslaved by Protestants sooner than swear what they did not believe. They had been represented as believing that the Pope could dispense with their observing their oaths; yet they permitted themselvess to be afflicted to the last degree of endurance rather than ask for that dispensation. They had been represented as believing that no oath to heretics is binding; yet they preferred permitting these heretics to take their *valuable* properties, and their valuable rights, and their *valuable* health and their valuable feelings, and their val-

uable lives, rather than make those heretics the empty compliment of a valueless oath! But now these Catholics were to be permitted to swear. Here was the jet of the melancholy joke. To permit them to swear was to acknowledge that they had been calumniated and plundered. Besides, the consciences of the episcopal bench must be satisfied. Let the free and rational and powerful mind of America read and stand amazed at the degrading burlesque of sanctimonious hypocrisy which assured the Catholic Committee that the act could not pass without the following addition, which it was of course necessary to have added to the oath for the purpose of satisfying the timorous consciences of their worst oppressors—and which to this day forms part of the recital of the disgusting farces which their courts occasionally exhibit. The Irish peer, the Irish archbishop, and the Irish peasant, who scarcely knows why he cannot be permitted to sign his own lease or give his note, until he shall have sworn to the truth of the contents of almost half a quire of paper, are equally insulted by the following conclusion of their oath: "And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of His only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or of any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God." Some persons thought this piece of insulting, contumelious falsehood, and blasphemous sporting with the name of God and the Redeemer, was added by a cunning device of men who wished to wound, but were afraid or ashamed to strike, in order to disgust the Catholics with the oath and render

their refusal subservient to their own vile system of r
representations. Be this as it may; I have never read
oath without mingled feelings of indignation and conten
for the blending of its malignant imputations and ludicr
puerility.

Bad as its history is, I have been forced by my
ponents to give it, and shall still have to enter m
deeply into the history of the subsequent transactions,
the purpose of vindicating that Church to which I h
the happiness and the honor of belonging, from the f
charges which they have, unfortunately for themselves
for my readers, been tempted to make. Why, in the na
of common sense, did they not confine their extracts
some articles like the story which either they or Lut
filched from Andrew Dunn? In cases like that there
more safety. They can always fight *in nubibus*, and w
they are driven to such a pass as not to be able to poi
Papists with arsenic, they can shower down barrels
flour upon them to crush their carcasses and give ma
to their foes. But facts are very dangerous, if they
portions of history; they will neither be allowed to indu
their imagination nor to exercise their inventive powe
they will always be brought to evidence. The more t
test facts, the more will they please me, because I sh
stick close to them until I shall enable our readers plai
to discover the truth.

V.

I have given perhaps too much in detail the hist
of the oath of 1774, which was the first oath. I n
proceed to show that this first oath contained no su
clause, which my opponents stated it did. The clause wh
they insert is in the following words: "I do swear t
I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impi
and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, t
princes, excommunicated by the Pope or by the autho
of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by th

subjects," etc. The clause which was really introduced into the oath, and which still forms part of it, is in the following words: "I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever."

So that it was not true to assert that a clause which never was in the oath was in it; neither have the two clauses the same meaning, as I shall show when I come to treat of the fact which caused my opponents' mistake. Their total ignorance of the history of the British and Irish Catholics is manifest; yet they thoughtlessly take upon them to write upon facts of which they are grossly ignorant. If they know anything of the first principles of theology, they must at once perceive a serious and an important difference between the meaning of the clauses, and I hope they will not require that a Popish priest should be under the necessity of teaching them how proper it is that oaths should be in precise words. They are not Roman Catholics who swear to the thirty-nine articles, and after having sworn, discuss what was the meaning of their oath. Roman Catholics like to know before they swear what is the exact meaning of the oath; they were not Papists, who swore the *et cetera* oath in 1640. Lest my opponents might not have been able to find "The Anatomy of, etc., or the Unfolding of the Dangerous Clause of the Sixth Canon," London, printed 1641, I will beg to inform them that it was a comment upon a clause of the said canon, enacted in the convention of 1640, which required every clergyman to swear, amongst other clauses, the following: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc." Some persons who appear to have just as much respect for oaths as Papists have, objected to swear the *et cetera*, upon the ground that it might be

brought to mean several things, which they never intende amongst others, Cleveland, the satirist, has left us the f lowing lines:

> I cannot half untruss
> *Et cetera*, it is so abominous;
> The Trogan nag was not so fully lined.
> Unrip *etc.*; and you shall find
> Og, the great commissary, and which is worse
> The apparator upon his skew-bald horse;
> And finally my babe of grace forbear
> *Et cetera*, 'twill be too far to swear,
> For 'tis to speak in a familiar style
> A Yorkshire "Wea-bit," longer than a mile.

No such clause as they adduce was ever introdu into the Irish Catholic's oath of allegiance.

Now, will they be pleased to inform me how that wh was never introduced could be introduced for a special p pose? One would be really tempted to imagine when read this pretty lucubration of theirs that they were, writing, perfectly careless of even the semblance of tru Indeed, their making the Irish parliament introduce w they never introduced, to guard against a danger wh never existed, is a sort of blunder to which moralists g a very short but a very significant name, and which, not becoming the mouth of a gentleman to utter, I sl leave them to lisp out as prettily as they can; my is too genteel to afford ink for writing the shortest m of expressing the assertion of the thing which is not. T is number two.

I have already shown what will warrant my stat that 1768 is number three. As to number four, th never was a vicar apostolic, who had jurisdiction in l land, since the days of St. Patrick; for the Irish have a most unprecedented manner preserved their hierar through fire and blood since the days of its establishm to the present day; nor, indeed, need they envy th who perhaps could boast for the commencement of th as celestial an emblem as that of Darius, King of Per

I may then leave the noble war-horse to proclaim the new dynasty, by royal right and authority of parliament, and the Irish will feel satisfied with the possession of that which came to them through humble fishermen. Before the days of St. Patrick there were in Ireland a few vicars apostolic; but Pope Celestine gave to him, not only episcopal consecration and regular jurisdiction, but also legatine authority; and he established an ordinary hierarchy, which, notwithstanding the worst efforts of the most cruel persecution, still continues, and which of course did exist in 1768.

We are coming to see of what value is my opponent's argument respecting the letter of Dr. Ghillini. But before I proceed farther, I must ask who was Dr. Ghillini? The Pope's legate at Brussels. What is a legate? An ambassador. Is he infallible? No. Then what is the value of his assertions? The value of his commission. Does his commission extend to explain the doctrines of the Church? Just as far as the American ambassador's at Paris extends to explain the Constitution of the United States. Would the American ambassador's decision supersede that of the supreme court? Would it outweigh that of the judges upon circuit? Would it even equal that of the attorney general? No; an ambassador of the Pope can bind his principal to do certain acts, which he has authority to agree to in his name; but he is not infallible, nor can he make the Pope infallible in any decision. If then the legate stated that these impious doctrines were doctrines of our Church, his declaration would not have made them so. If he did any act, its force would not extend beyond the territory to which he was legate. He was legate to Flanders, not to Ireland. The question is then easily settled: Dr. Ghillini's opinion was not of more authority than Mr. Hawley's would have been, so far as right is concerned. He ought to know the Catholic doctrine, but he was not infallible. He might have erred. Now I distinctly assert that if Dr. Ghillini did teach what my opponents state he did, he did err most egregiously.

They represent the legate as teaching: 1. That it would be unlawful to swear an abhorrence of the doctrine that faith was not to be kept with heretics; and of the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be deposed or murdered. 2. That such an oath would be invalid, and could not bind or oblige conscience. 3. That these doctrines are defended by most Catholic nations. 4. That the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. I shall show, first, that if Dr. Ghillini taught those four propositions, he taught what was not true, and I shall next show that he did not teach any one of them.

The doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion never changes. My opponents acknowledge this themselves. Now, in 1757, whilst Benedict XIV, who was one of the most learned Popes of the last century, occupied the Chair of St. Peter, the declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland containing the solemn abhorrence of those two doctrines, was recorded in Rome, and its propositions so far from being contradicted were approved of. 2. The Irish clergy and laity, have, since 1774, been in the constant habit of publicly swearing their declaration of abhorrence of those two doctrines, and yet they have been considered and esteemed most faithful Catholics, doing only what is lawful. 3. The Roman Catholics of Great Britain, since the year 1791, have been openly in the habit of swearing to their abhorrence of those two doctrines, and yet have been considered and esteemed most faithful Roman Catholics, doing what was lawful. Pope Pius VI has approved of this abjuration in each of those cases, and has held communion with those who abjured those doctrines; he has made them his vicars, and has given them every mark of affection and token of communion and love. His successors, Pius VII and Leo XII, have followed the same line of conduct. The bishops of France, of Spain, of Portugal, of Italy, of Germany, of all the rest of Europe, not to mention the rest of the Churches, held close communion with the bishops, who to their knowledge had made this abju-

ation. The principal universities of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe were consulted by the directions of Mr. Pitt, by the Roman Catholics of England, upon the following queries: "1. Has the Pope, or any cardinal, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England? 2. Can the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance upon any pretext whatsoever? 3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or a private nature?"

The answers to this third query will be all I shall now refer to. They are as follows:

From the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris: "There is no tenet of the Catholic Church by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants have complained more heavily than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, etc. Given at Paris in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the 11th day before the Calends of March, 1789."

From the answer of the Faculty of Divinity of Douay: "To the third question the sacred faculty answers: That there is no principle of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, it is the unanimous doctrine of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is

pledged, whether Catholic, heretic, infidel, etc.—February 5, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Louvain: "The Faculty of Divinity of Louvain having been requested to give its opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives! Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to it) most positively and unequivocally answers: That there is not and there never has been among the Catholics or in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns. The faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the agreement is made hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, etc.—November 18, 1788."

From the answer of the University of Alcala: "To the third question it is answered: That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.—March 17, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Salamanca: "To the third, it is answered: That it is no article of Catholic faith, that Catholics may be allowed not to keep faith with heretics or with persons of any other desciption who dissent from them in matters of religion.—March 7, 1789."

From the answer of the University of Valladolid: "To the third, it is answered: That the obligation of keeping

faith is founded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.—February 17, 1789."

These decisions were procured at the desire of Mr. Pitt, by the Roman Catholics of England, because the British parliament could not without them be induced to relax any of its persecuting code. What a ridiculous figure must this arrogant and haughty nation have cut in the eyes of learned Europe, when she, to the astonishment, not only of the faculty of Louvain, but of every man of common information, sent to know whether those blasphemous absurdities were tenets of the faith of the most numerous portions of the civilized world! How must Mr. Pitt's superciliousness have been rebuked upon reading the answer of the faculty of Louvain! I have often heard and read of the gullibility of John Bull; I have known much of it. But it required all the force of evidence to persuade me that even a yelping Cockney, or a Cornish miner, could be induced to believe such a libellous absurdity. I always loved America; I admired its rapid progress towards its high destinies; I came expecting to find, at least as much liberality and as much information upon the plain facts of religion, as was to be had in some English country towns and on some Irish mountains. But what shall I say? Oh! I am mortified and humbled. When I find an entire junta of the ministers of the religion which pretends to most gentility and most information, clergymen of the old established religion, or at least its substitute, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, at the very seat of government, in the federal city, the publishers of a work said to be religious, and men who, if I am rightly informed, have actually undertaken to teach some kind of theology; I am mortified and humbled when I find those men expose their ignorance so far as to repeat calumnies of which Europe has been ashamed during nearly half a century.

My conclusion here is, if Dr. Ghillini believed those were Catholic doctrines, he was egregiously in error. 1. If he taught that the oath by which they were abjured was therefore unlawful, he was in error. 2. If he taught that such oath was invalid and could not therefore bind conscience, he was in error. 3. If he taught that those doctrines were defended by most Catholic nations, he was in error.

They were condemned by the Catholic nation of France, by Catholic Flanders, whose university is astonished that a question should be raised upon the subject, and which declares that there never were such doctrines among Catholics. They were condemned by the Spanish universities. I know the Portuguese would, if consulted, have gone at least as far as Spain. Will it be said that Germany was backward? Is there any doubt as to Poland? Centuries of the Italian history would wipe away any imputation from their nation upon this score. Where then are the Catholic nations? If he asserted that the Holy See has frequently followed in practice the principle that no faith was to be kept with heretics, he was in error. Let one such instance be proved against that see. If he held that the Holy See frequently followed in practice the doctrine that excommunicated princes might be murdered by their subjects, he was greatly in error. Let a single case of the description be produced. If he taught that the Holy See followed frequently in practice the principle that princes ought to be deposed, because they were excommunicated, he asserted what is not the fact. I shall not now state more upon this head, for this brings me to a new topic. Ghillini did not teach any of those propositions. We shall see what was his difficulty, and what was the scruple of those Catholics who cared nothing for the sanctity of an oath.

Cardinal Bellarmine and a few other writers stated, not as Catholic doctrines, but as their opinion, that God gave to the Pope as much temporal power as was necessary for guarding the faith, because his principal duty of its pres-

ervation occasionally required the means for its protection by temporal aid: and therefore, that if one of the powerful children of the Church became contumacious and mischievously exerted his influence to destroy the faith, the common Father of the Church could, by God's authority, restrain him, and if he could not be restrained without an abridgment of his temporal authority, the greater good of preserving the faith was sufficient warrant to abridge it. This specious sophistry was rejected and treated as it deserved by the great bulk of the Catholic princes, clergy, and people. It was never even suspected to have been in the contemplation of any human being, to propose this as a doctrine revealed by God; of course, not as a tenet of the Catholic Church; for nothing can be received as a tenet of the Church, unless it has been revealed by God. But it was adduced as the opinion of some writers. I care not how many or how few. Ghillini never asserted that the Pope had such power from God.

The Popes, in many instances, had a power of deposing kings and princes, not by divine right, but by the concession and grant of the nations and the kings themselves, deliberately given in congress. Surely, my opponents will not assert that nations and their rulers cannot regulate certain cases, in which kings and princes of those nations can be lawfully deposed, and also appoint a judge of the case, and an executor of their will. The Holy See was made in several of these causes the judge, and in most instances the case of excommunication for public defection from the faith was one of those causes. Thus, if a king or prince, whose nation or whose predecessor had been a party of this convention, did fall off from the faith, the Pope had two duties to perform: he had, as head of the Church, by divine right, the duty of judging of the defection, and pronouncing the sentence of excommunication: and he had, as delegate of the council or congress that made the convention or temporal law for deposing such princes, upon the same evidence, then to pronounce the

sentence of deposition, not by divine right, but by hu right, by virtue of human law. Thus, speaking prope those persons were not deposed by the Pope because the excommunication nor because of the defection from faith, but because of the regulation of the congress wl empowered him to execute the law which it had made; there was scarcely a king in Europe who did not, at time or another, become a party to that law, and thus g the power by his own act. This law was not made b council of bishops, but at their request by a congress ambassadors, and confirmed by their sovereigns, and accep by their nations, and acted upon by each nation against others, but resisted by almost every nation when it came bear against itself. Thus, the Popes were, by the law Europe, as fully warranted to depose the princes, who v parties to the law, as by the Constitution of the Un States the President is warranted to execute any law Congress. I do not now examine the propriety or jus of the regulation: I only state the fact.

In the declaration of the Catholics in 1757, the wo were, that they condemned the opinion that princes exc municated, etc., "may therefore be deposed," etc. T was clear and explicit; and whilst it left no doubt as the Catholics not believing that sentence of excommunicat was sufficient reason for withdrawing their allegiance, left the old law of Europe, which by human autho gave to the Pope a special power, just as it found it, rest upon that authority. This also was the doctrine the universities. But in drawing the oath, the word there was omitted; and to Ghillini and others this appeared be in opposition to what was known to be lawful, v that such a convention could give the power of depos excommunicated princes. The practice had been in existe in several Catholic countries, and the Holy See had ac upon the powers given to it. The oath appeared to conde all this. Thus, they thought the oath was meant re *spectively* to condemn all those acts which were legal

e time they were done. In this view the oath would that part be unlawful; and I need not, I trust, inform r opponents that if one clause of an oath is bad, the ıole oath is unlawful; and if an oath is unlawful, their rn homilies and their own archbishop will tell them what e legate told the Irish. But the Irish bishops, especially r. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and the other monster elates, proved to the satisfaction of Pope Pius VI, that hillini and those other gentlemen made a great mistake to the meaning given to the phrases by the Irish parament, which, of course, as being the legislature, was the ibunal best qualified to explain what it intended to have vorn. The mistake with regard to the Pope's power of ispensing with oaths was also understood imperfectly by ıe legate. But those questions have been settled to the ıtisfaction of the British government, and the Pope and ıose traitors, the Irish Papists, now during nearly fifty ears; and my opponents might have known more about ıem had they been at all industrious. It would be more reditable to them to study before they write, than to retail ı America the libels upon us which have been, during a uarter of a century, scouted from Europe, and which no ıan who had the least regard for his reputation would, ı Europe, repeat. As I am not informed that what is nown in Europe to be untrue becomes truth when brought o America, I shall believe those statements to be here of he same nature as they would be there, until I shall ave been better instructed.

Here is the last statement purporting to be taken from he surgeon: "Before this oath could receive the sanction f the legislature, it was condemned by the vicars aposolical of the western, northern, and southern districts, in n encyclical letter, addressed 'to all the faithful clergy nd laity of those districts.'"

This does not regard Ireland. The Irish act was passed ı 1774, the explanations to which the variance between ıe terms of the declaration in 1757 and the oath in 1774

gave rise, had been completed to the satisfaction of parties in 1776. But in 1786, after a lapse of ten y the English Catholic Committee was formed, and the pr Mr. Charles Butler, under the appellation of secre became its dictator. With perhaps the best intentions, with extraordinary presumption, he undertook to confer a number of Protestant statesmen, who were disposec be liberal, as to the best mode of so framing the disci of the Catholic Church in England, as to meet the p dices of the people; and as they had been taught to the name "Roman Catholics," they were to lay this a and the poor Papists were to take up the harmor nickname of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters." How a] or a Russian, or an Italian, or a Chinese, or a Ta or even a poor Irish Papist, was to recognize his bre with a new nickname, and some of Mr. Butler's quil to prove by chancery distinctions how lawfully he n swear that he was a Protestant, because he protested ag the calumnies charged upon him, and that he was a senter, because he dissented from the Church of Engl would puzzle my opponents and me to know. I doubt even the sign of the cross, and the Latin liturgy, and holy water could have reconciled them, though unquestion the new feathers stuck in could not have concealed all plumage, for he still kept the Catholic. However, t sounds are rather novel, "Protestant Catholic," "Disse Catholic." To be sure, they jar a little now upon the "sed plura te usus docebit." Now, neither my oppon nor Mr. Charles Butler can complain of me; I will v they could swear that in his way I am as good a Protes as any in America, and I could myself swear I am a stat Dissenter.

The Catholics thought this was going a little too far; Mr. Mitford, now Lord Redesdale, thought otherwise. that he was very fit to regulate their concerns, he pr by his bigoted folly, when he was lord chancellor in land. However, he grew more civil after the vener

ihop Coppinger, of Cloyne and Ross, referred his lordship some Irish statutes, which proved to him that his ulence had even outrun the cruelty of Irish legislation, l proved to him that an Irish parish priest was not a itor, though a good English Protestant had flogged him st unmercifully and had sent him to New Holland with etched convicts. And Lord Redesdale thought it very generous that his bishop should prove that this priest i not deserve this punishment, so that even the British vernment was, by the force of the evidence, obliged to ng him back. Lord Redesdale was as little pleased with s as my opponents are with me—and for the very same son that operates upon them. Yet this was one of the ncipal men selected to regulate the discipline of the Eng- ı Catholics. In England the Catholics lost their hier- hy—they had vicars apostolic. Those vicars preferred ulating their own concerns. They found the oath which ı proposed contained several objectionable clauses; amongst ers, one which, by direct implication, would assert that re existed a heresy such as never existed. They con- uned the oath for those faults, not for its abjuration of imputed doctrines. They, through Bishop Milner, peti- ned for the Irish oath, which abjured the doctrines; y obtained it, they swore it; to this day they swear it: refore it is not true that they rejected and condemned oath because it condemned those imputed tenets, but y rejected an oath which did condemn them, because it s on other accounts objectionable.

VI.

Having exhibited, at much greater length than I intended, total want of truth in my opponents' premises, so far as y regarded the treaty of Westphalia, the Roman Catholics Ireland, the vicars apostolic of England, and Legate Ghil- , at Brussels, they now call me off to Rome, and they in upon their own account: "These doctrines, in relation excommunicated princes and faith with heretics, are allowed

to have been contained in the 4th Lateran and other General Councils, uniformly considered infallible." They must permit me to translate the above passage into English. I have studied their language, and am therefore, I trust, competent to the task: "These doctrines in relation to excommunicated princes and faith with heretics, are allowed to have been taught by the 4th Lateran," etc. Or thus: "Are allowed to have been contained in the canons of the 4th Lateran," etc.

The doctrine as put by their surgeon, that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be murdered by their subjects was never taught by any council, certainly not by the 4th Council of Lateran. The doctrine that princes excommunicated by any ecclesiastical authority might be murdered by their subjects was never taught by any council. The doctrine that princes might, under any circumstances, be murdered by their subjects or by any person or persons was never taught, was never abetted, by any council. Murder has been prohibited by the law of God. No council ever assumed to change the law of God. No council ever assumed to justify what God has condemned. Neither is there any such provision nor any semblance of it in any of the acts of any council. The murder portion is not warranted by any single expression that I know of in any Roman Catholic council.

However, it may not be amiss to produce what this 4th Council of Lateran enacted respecting shedding of blood. As my opponents are canonists, they must have read its enactments; I believe they will allow the following to be a fair transcript of canon xviii: "Let no clergyman dictate or pronounce a sentence of blood; neither let him carry the vindictive sentence of blood into execution nor be at its execution. . . . . nor let any clergyman write or dictate letters destined to warrant the execution of a vindictive sentence of blood. Wherefore, let this charge be committed, not to clergymen, but to laymen in the courts of princes."

This is doubtless a very extraordinary canon for a council which we are told taught that subjects might murder their

princes, provided those princes had been excommunicated by the Pope. There were present in this council ambassadors of the Emperors Otho IV of the West, and Henry of the East, together with those of most of the kings and princes of Europe; and yet we are gravely told that without a single remark on their part, the council did teach that their masters might be murdered, provided the Pope had previously excommunicated them! Now let us see what my opponents would have us believe:

1. That this council strained at a gnat in prohibiting clergymen, in its 18th canon, the practice of such parts of surgery as required amputations, incisions, and cautery; besides the passing, or executing, or aiding in executing a sentence, which caused the shedding of blood; and yet swallowed a camel, by sanctioning murder, but gave this sanction so cunningly, that although it was given, it was so perfectly concealed as to baffle any person's scrutiny who sought to discover it. Probably it was written with lemon juice. 2. That the council proclaimed this doctrine in the presence of the congress of all the emperors, kings and princes of Christendom, and that they, good souls, were so pious and so priest-ridden as not to object one syllable, lest the Pope should excommunicate them and they should be murdered. 3. My opponents require of us to believe that several general councils taught the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope might be murdered, and this weighty charge is fastened on those councils, and not only upon them, but upon all the Roman Catholics, except those who are too ignorant to be wicked, without their adducing one syllable from any act of any council; without adducing any contemporary writer; without any contemporary historian; without adducing any monument; in a word, without one particle of evidence; but they repeat an old calumny of which the basest hack of the most degraded press in Europe would now feel ashamed. And they deliberately insult the understanding of America by requiring it to take their assertion of falsehood for evidence of a fact. 4. They require us to

believe this murderous doctrine, though they do not adduce the name of one prince who being excommunicated has been so murdered. Not to mention several upon the continent of Europe, the mean and unprincipled John of England, who would betray the rights of his people and of his throne to the ambition of Rome, found no one to murder him, but he found Roman Catholic bishops and Roman Catholic barons to compel him to preserve at least some liberty, to sign their Magna Charta, and to treat Rome as she deserved, when she interfered with the rights and liberties of the people of England.[1] The creator of my opponents' parent Church, King Henry VIII, whom they praise God for having raised up as a godly and pious prince, was excommunicated by the Pope, and yet no Roman Catholic dipped his hand in his blood. Their Elizabeth, of whose virginity they boast, as one of our States yet testifies, though they decry the observance in us which they commend in her, was excommunicated by the Pope: yet though her unfortunate Papist cousin was murdered, no Roman Catholic cut short the days of her single blessedness; nor refused to venture his life against her enemies.

Thus without evidence, against probability, in the face of facts, they make an assertion which we pronounce to be a calumny. What better proof of a negative can we adduce?

The doctrine of the surgeon in relation to faith with heretics, viz., that no faith was to be kept with them, was never taught by this nor by any other Roman Catholic council that I know of. I therefore take the liberty of despatching very summarily my opponents' assertion in relation thereto. They have made the assertion; I deny its truth, and defy them to prove it.[2]

We come to a proposition which contains all the fallacy of the assertion which they have made, and which therefore requires a more close examination. They assert it is well known that the doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope should therefore be deposed by their subjects

[1] The former editors noted this as rather incautious. They were wrong. No Pope, *speaking ex cathedra*, has claimed any authority over civil rights.

[2] They never tried.

was maintained in the 4th Council of Lateran and other general councils. Laying aside their vague phrase, other general councils, we shall confine ourselves to the one which they specify. They add, this council was uniformly considered infallible. This again is too loose a mode of writing where the charge is of so grave a nature. We had better first be precise here.

I beg to remind them that they, being learned theologians, must be aware that Roman Catholics do not believe general councils to be infallible in all their transactions. Suppose then a general council did teach that princes excommunicated by the Pope ought to be deposed, would this be a subject upon which Roman Catholics are bound to believe the judgment of the council would be infallibly correct? By no means. Roman Catholics believe the general council properly constituted and conducted will with infallible certainty give a correct decision: 1. Upon any question as to what doctrines God has revealed: that is, respecting articles of faith. 2. Respecting doctrinal facts, such as whether a special book contains true doctrines, or has errors, and if so, what these errors are. 3. Respecting the truth or falsehood, the correctness or error of principles of morality. Beyond this extent, no Roman Catholic is bound to believe any council infallible.

He is not bound to believe the council infallible in making civil or political regulations. Neither is he required to believe that the council has any power or authority to make any such regulation, and if the council should make it, he is not therefore bound to obey it. Suppose a general council were to make a law requiring, under pain of excommunication, the Roman Catholic citizens of the United States to vote for no candidate for office unless he was a Roman Catholic, the Papists of this Union would disobey the law, their bishops and priests would continue to officiate and would be still in the communion of the Church, because the sentence of excommunication would be invalid, for the law would have been made respecting a subject not within

the jurisdiction of the council. It would have just as mu value as an act of Congress regulating how the cardina should be chosen and in what manner the Archbishop Toledo should make his visitation. If councils sometim undertook what they ought not to undertake, they did n more than other bodies which have exceeded their powe but not forfeited them. Suppose Congress should, duri its present session, pass an act to regulate the manner which Leo XII should give his blessing during the jubile now observed in Rome, would General La Fayette's gra be therefore invalidated? Yet this is the species of log with which we are every day assailed. "Your councils di some things which were not within their jurisdiction, ther fore they never had jurisdiction to do anything."

My opponents would ask next, suppose an army of th Popish nations was raised to punish those excommunicate American Papists, what would be done? Never fear; w have General Jackson, and I assure them, if he woul take the command, he need not ask a single Protestant t fight. We would give him Catholics enough who woul never halt upon the boundary line to convert the Consti tution into a shield for their bodies, instead of making their bodies a shield for the Constitution. Of course, m opponents would cry out against the bigotry of this counci for preventing Papists from voting to place Protestants i offices. What say they to North Carolina and to New Jersey, that prevent Protestants from giving their votes t Catholics? [1] This is toleration. This is liberty of con science. Suppose the Papists embodied themselves to plac Catholics, by force, in those offices, and that those tw tolerant sisters in our Union became disturbed in conse quence of this exception to Papists in their constitutions and they called upon the President—would not the whol military force of the Union be brought to bear upon th rebellious Papists in those States? And if they persisted would they not be exterminated? Thus, in our own lan of civil and religious liberty, we have two States whos

[1] *These laws* were abolished chiefly through the exertions of Bishop Englan

sapient conventions, weighing well and duly estimating the dangers to which their liberties would be exposed by reason of the terrors of their childish imagination and the calumnies, of our enemies, have as yet continued an odious distinction, which is less disgrace to those who suffer under it than to those who continue it, and to support which, if necessary, all the force of the Union, Catholic and Protestant, should contribute even to the shedding of blood, until it shall be constitutionally abolished.

Now, the canon of the Council of Lateran to which my opponents evidently allude, and which, if I can judge from their context, they appear rather to have learned of from others, than to have read themselves, is one which, if passed by bishops, was beyond their power, for it regarded temporal punishment: which if passed by the congress of ambassadors, was by the law of nations good and valid: which, from the circumstances of the times seems to have been very necessary, and is more defensible upon just reasoning and upon the principles of our Constitution, than the clauses which disqualify Catholics for offices in North Carolina and New Jersey; and which has not by any means the force or extent which they insinuate.

I might very easily deny at once their assertion, but I prefer giving a more detailed though perhaps a tedious explanation of the true meaning of this misrepresented canon of the Council of Lateran. [1] This council was held in 1215, under Pope Innocent III. The first canon condemns a special heresy by its special recitations of doctrine. These were principally the unity of God who is Creator both of spirit and of matter, in opposition to the Manichæan principle of two Gods, one the creator of spirit, the other the creator of matter. Also that He created the good angels and the bad angels, all being created originally good, but some by the abuse of their free will having become wicked; in opposition to the same sect who taught that they were the creations of different Gods; also that He was the author of the old law, given by Moses and

[1] See "Discourse Before Congress," vol. 1.

the prophets, and of that given by Jesus Christ; moreover that the Son of God assumed true flesh from His Virgin Mother: that sect taught that the Son of God could not have true flesh, as all flesh was created by an evil principle, and that the Old Testament was given by the bad God and the New Testament by the author of good. I shall not go farther into the details, for here is all which now suits my purpose, and though the remainder would strengthen my argument it would only be a confirmation which just now it does not need. One of the consequences of this Manichæan principle was, that as it was criminal to oppose the author of good and to aid the author of evil, no person could without sin co-operate in the production of bodies; marriage was forbidden, but shameful and nameless criminality abounded, especially amongst the Bulgari, the Vaudois and the Albigenses. This profligate heresy was known in the council by the distinct and pre-eminent characteristic, "*hæc hæresis*—this heresy." The council, it is true, condemned also the Abbot Joachim's errors of quaternity, in its second canon; but it was not this heresy, and this heresy was no every-day heresy. In any civilized nation the crime of this heresy is punishable with death, and if Bishop Joycelyn had been found guilty of it in London, where he did not wait for his trial, he would have been hanged. Of course my opponents will not require of me to inform them who Bishop Joycelyn is, nor will I so far degrade myself as to imitate a certain class of writers, who, if in the course of a century they can find out a criminal Pope or a criminal bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, will exhibit him to the world as a fair sample of what the Church is, and when told that in the same Church there are good and virtuous men, will answer, "True—but they are better than their religion." No, the Council of Lateran did not more deeply execrate and condemn the crime than does that Church to which Bishop Joycelyn belongs, and his crime and those of several English black-coats recorded in their public papers in England, within

the last two or three years, are not to be imputed to the body which condemns and execrates their crimes. They would be condemned by its clergy, and they are doomed to death by the laws of England. Were the bishops of the Council of Lateran criminal in condemning this heresy? Were the members of the congress of ambassadors criminal in declaring it a crime, such as ought not to be tolerated, and enacting that if the feudatory lords did not punish the criminals, they should be deposed? Some process was necessary for the purpose of having the law executed. This was regulated in the third canon of that council, by the joint authority of the council and the congress. Let us see this obnoxious portion of the canon: "Damnati vero hæretici sœcularibus potestatibus præsentibus, aut eorum ballivis relinquantur animadversione debita puniendi. Clericis prius a suis ordinibus degradatis; ita quod bona hujusmodi damnatorum, si laici sint confiscentur: si vero clerici, applicentur ecclesiis, a quibus stipendia perceperunt."

My opponents must clearly perceive in this portion of the canon full evidence of the acts being of a temporal nature, and all such were passed by the temporal powers present; but as there was also, upon two grounds, a claim respecting the concerns of the Church, the bishops were to pass this portion. Very clearly, too, this did not regard a decision of faith, as the two previous canons did; it was a mere civil regulation, but having in two respects a bearing upon religious concerns; the council had no claim either to infallibility, or exclusive jurisdiction, upon the subject. "But condemned heretics are to be left to be punished, according to their deserts, by the secular powers that are present or by their bailiffs."

Because of another canon which forbade, as I showed, a clergyman to interfere or even to draw the warrant, the clergy were merely to find as jurors the special fact, upon the question, whether the individual arraigned did hold such heretical tenets as were charged. The secular power

alone had the right to say whether it would therefore look upon him to be a criminal; and also, to say whether it would punish him, and to say what that punishment should be, and to inflict it. With all this the council had no concern; God gave the Church no authority in those matters. But it certainly was a question for an ecclesiastical tribunal to decide upon whether this man held that heretical doctrine. The next was also a matter for bishops to regulate: the confiscation of property was a State question, but had been regulated by the feudal customs and law. "Clergymen are to be first degraded from their orders; the goods also of the condemned, if they be laymen, are to be confiscated—if they be clergymen, are to be given to the churches from which they receive stipends."

The next object was to provide for the execution of this law. To judge fairly of any question we must try it by its own circumstances, not by extraneous or inapplicable circumstances. This law for punishing criminals was not lately made in America, where there is a special mode of impeachment, but in feudal times. We must judge by feudal customs. The feudatory held from his sovereign upon certain conditions; so long as he observed the conditions, his title was good; so long as the title was good, his vassals were bound in allegiance to him; as soon as he violated the conditions, the allegiance to him was at an end. The only persons who could affix those conditions to the tenure were the sovereigns; and when the feudatory was in possession under his title, no new condition could be added without his consent and acceptance. The special mode adopted for insuring the execution of this law is contained in the subsequent part of this canon, and it regulates the whole process of the punishment; deposition after impeachment of the negligent feudatory to whom the execution of the law was committed. The Pope was made the judge, and he had no discretion, for the canon regulated the process; and after the process, he should pronounce the sentence: "But if the temporal lord, being required and

admonished by the Church, shall have neglected to cleanse his land from this heretical filth, let him be excommunicated by the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province; and if he shall have neglected to make satisfaction within a year, let this be made known to the Pope, that he may declare absolved thenceforward from their allegiance his vassals, and may give up the land to be occupied by Catholics who, having dispossessed the heretics, may keep it without any contradiction in the purity of faith; saving the right of the principal lord, provided he shall place no obstacle nor give any impediment to this: the same process is also to be observed respecting those who have no principal lords."

This is not a decision of doctrine made by divine authority by an infallible tribunal, and which is therefore justly to be called a tenet of the Church; and for which, and for the inevitable consequences of which, every individual member of that Church is responsible; but it is a law by authority of the secular powers which were present, binding those whom they could bind, and no others, to its observance; and providing for its execution by the principles of what was for them then, but not now for us, the law of nations. Thus, although it gave to the Pope a power of declaring, after due process, what lord had forfeited his claim to allegiance, because of neglect of his duty in a special case, it did not give to him a general power of deposing in any one case; his power was rather declaratory than executive. The execution was committed to the secular powers which continued faithful. And the person who should execute the law would not hold his tenure from the Pope, but from the sovereign; not by virtue of the papal authority, but in consequence of this special law. It is, therefore, as gross a misrepresentation to state, that it is a part of the Catholic religion to believe that the Pope has the power of deposing princes who are excommunicated, as it would be to say it was part and portion of the Protestant religion, that a child who became

a Protestant should be entitled to strip all his Popish brothers and sisters and his poor old Popish parents of their lands and tenements, because a Protestant parliament once made the law and the head of the Protestant Church has in hundreds of instances enforced it.

How would all the presses in the Union groan against my bigotry, and my ignorance, and my calumnious falsehood, were I to publish that it is part of their religion enacted by the same kind of general council that formed the Church of England, and frequently enforced by its supreme head, whether male or female, that the plunder of a whole conscientious family by a profligate, disobedient and hypocritical child is lawful in the sight of God and meritorious in the plunderer! Yet it is equally true as their assertion—in fact, more near to truth, as I know well. Mark, then, the difference, even in the United States, between them and me. They libel me, and not a press complains, but the single one employed by the *Miscellany*. No one, except their humble servant, tells them that they do wrong. But let us change sides; let me treat them as they treat me, and I verily believe I dare not show my face abroad; and even in the recesses of my concealment I would be pelted with paragraphs. Oh! what an exhibition of Popery and bigotry would be made? However, America daily adds to her stock of knowledge, and fables cannot, at this side of the Atlantic, much longer pass for history.

VII.

My opponents, I trust, must now feel satisfied that they have failed to prove Roman Catholics guilty of holding the abominable and destructive tenet that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." They must perceive that the Pope did not teach that doctrine at the time of the protest against the treaty of Westphalia; and they must feel equally certain that they grossly traduced my unfortunate countrymen, whom the objects of their esteem and admiration oppressed, and *plundered,* and persecuted. I am convinced, if they do not

erceive all this, such of the American people as have had he kindness and the patience to read my letters, have no oubt upon the subject.

Allow me to put a case which, of course, is not very mprobable. Suppose one of my opponents had the honor of eing invited to preach before the Senate of the United tates; and this enlightened body was engaged in deliberation s to whether it would advise the President to make a treaty vith the King of France, with the Emperor of Austria, with he King of Spain, with the King of Portugal, or any of hose other Papists who are in power in Europe; or with the Republic of Colombia, or that of Mexico, or any of those Popish governments at this side of the Atlantic. In common prudence, the Senate ought not to consider any man to be better than his profession; or, if this enlightened body considered any man inconsistent with his profession, what reliance could it have upon his profession to observe his treaty? Thus, if one of my opponents believed what they have written, he must feel it his duty to speak truth to the Senate, especially if he were paid for telling what he conscientiously believed to be God's truth. It would then be his duty, a duty for which the nation pays him, to tell that Senate: "It is a religious tenet of this Popish nation not to keep faith with you heretics, for 'this is a Protestant country.' You have sworn to maintain the rights of the nation, and yet you sacrifice those rights to persons with whom you cannot safely treat; for they may promise as much as they please, but the Pope can ruin your diplomacy—no faith will be kept with you." Suppose he were able to prevail upon the present chaplain of the Senate, who is a clergyman of his Church, to use such language as this; I should suppose the Senate would believe him, because I could not otherwise see how that body would be justified in paying him. They pay him out of the property of the nation for preaching truth, and beseeching God to give them wisdom. If this gentleman believed what my opponents wrote to be truth, it is his positive duty to preach it to the Senate; it is his positive duty to pray

to God to make the Senate wise, to sanction no tr
with men who are inconsistent with their profession,—
with men whose profession it is not to keep faith
this country. The Senate looks upon his doctrine to
true and advises the President accordingly. If they bel
their preacher this is their bounden duty; if they do
believe him, why pay him? The President bids Mr. Ad
inform the ambassadors that the treaty cannot be ent
into. Negotiators generally like to know why they ca
succeed, because it is a very natural question for their p
cipals to ask them why they fail. Now, only imagine
a man as Mr. Adams telling the French ambassado
why, no doubt, people say that Mr. Adams himself
some things which we like to forget, and got some th
printed which we hope he did not,—but only imagine
Adams cogitating the various modes of diplomatic exp
sion which would convey these ideas: "Sir, the king, y
master, and you and every member of the same Chu
who is not too ignorant to know what his religion is,
so little principle, that we do not know how he can
bound to observe a treaty; therefore we will make no tr
with him, nor with any member of his Church; and
is the reason why your mission has failed. Our Se
has selected a wise theologian to instruct it; and he
assured the nation that you keep no faith with her
like us, for, sir, this is a Protestant country." The am
sador writes home to Europe. What a figure would
nation make? What wonder and awe would reign thro
all the Popish universities at contemplating the deep er
tion of the chaplain of the Senate! How would kings
emperors envy the felicity of the august body which
so much piety and learning at the trifling expense of
eight dollars daily! We are not certain of the amo
but this is only a trifle. How would the Prince of C
the Archbishop of Paris, Don Victor Saez, and the
Trappist bite their lips! The cardinals would tremble,
Tiber run back with affright, and our own capitol w
no longer envy its ancient prototype the cackling sent

we too should be providentially saved from Gaulish ruin. should hope the reverend chaplain of the Senate does believe that it is a tenet of Roman Catholics, "that h is not to be kept with heretics." No, I should be ry to think the Senate of the United States would so testify against nearly, if not fully, two hundred thou- d of their fellow-citizens, as to select for their chaplain man who would publish to the world that these Papists e unworthy of being trusted by their government until y changed their religion. Would such men as Mr. illard and Mr. Haynes insult their Catholic fellow-citi- s in this State of South Carolina by indulging such a picion? How many of them are to be found in Mr. yne's own regiment in this city of Charleston? Yet opponents would tell this respectable Senator not to fide in the Popish captain, the Popish lieutenants, the pish sergeants, the Popish soldiers of his regiment! Do Popish members of Congress know their religion? Do y keep faith with heretics? Do the Popish officers of army keep faith with this country? Has the Secretary War betrayed his trust when he selected a Popish clergy- n to make some of the most important examinations the scientific department of our most useful national demy? Are not all our archives in the Department of te in the custody of Papists? Were not some of our est commanders in the navy—are not some of our present st active officers of that branch of the service—are not arge portion of our sailors Papists? Is not the greater nber of our army made up of these traitors, the Irish ists? Are not many of our foreign consuls Papists? at then could have possessed my opponents, with all e facts before their eyes—in the midst of so many ish ambassadors and ministers of Popish kings and ers, so to outrage common decency, to expose themselves, as far as in them lay to degrade our nation, by de- ing such a monstrous falsehood as that it was a tenet of Church, that no faith was to be kept with heretics; no oath could bind us to them, and that we cannot

be good citizens unless we change our religion? I protest solemnly, though I have written so much upon the subject, and been so familiar with my opponents' mistakes, I can yet scarcely believe that I am awake, and in America, and find such an assertion seriously put forward by a man claiming to be a clergyman, and of a Church too very like one and almost a branch of one which has produced eminent and respectable scholars, men of great general knowledge and of extensive learning.

Do I go too far when I turn my opponents' artillery upon themselves?

> "Nor misdeem a soldier's bold emprise,
> Who, in the dissonance of barb'rous war
> Long-trained, revisits oft the sacred treasures
> Of antique memory!"

Suppose that the Roman Catholic Church were the guilty thing which they exhibited:

> "Thieves for their robbery have authority,
> When judges steal themselves,—
> Go to your bosom;
> Knock there, and ask your heart, what it doth know,
> That's like my brother's fault: if it confess
> A natural guiltiness, such as is his,
> Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue
> Against my brother's life."
>
> * * * * *
>
> "The jury, passing on the prisoner's life,
> May in the sworn twelve have a thief or two
> Guiltier than him they try."

As I have got into conversation with old Will Shakespeare, I cannot for the life of me, without regret, quit my poor friend for such dry and tedious fellows, as I must soon keep company with, by their compulsion. My opponents have come out boldly and in all their strength.

> "Oh, it is excellent,
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.
> Could great men thunder
> As Jove himself does, Jove's would ne'er be quiet.
> For every pelting, petty officer,
> Would use his heaven for thunder; nothing but thunder,
> Merciful heaven!"

Dear! dear! I must get into other company. Well, my nents have, of course, read of such a personage as mas Cranmer. Papists believe that an oath must be n in the sense of the parties imposing it. Such, too, he doctrine of all the public writers; of all the mor- s of the Church of England. This said Thomas obtained s for the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1532 from e Clement VII and was consecrated in 1533, by a ish bishop; he being at the time privately married in many, contrary to the canons, which he then swore to erve, and which were then and during the reign of nry VIII a part of the law of England. If the canons re against his conscience, why swear to observe and enforce m? If they were not, why swear to observe them whilst was conscious of their violation? He also swore the canon- l oath of obedience to the Pope—at the very time that had determined to throw off his authority. I am aware at it is pretended that he, with the king's approbation, eviously took four witnesses privately into St. Stephen's hapel, and there in their presence signed a protestation ainst taking the oath, except with the reservation of its cordance with the law of God, the king's rights, and his n notions of reformation. I do not believe he made any ch previous protestation, because I find the best critics d the persons who were contemporary and intelligent and nscientious writers deny it. But suppose he made this ivate protestation without the Pope's knowledge, and with- t the knowledge of the consecrating bishop. We find m go publicly to the altar, and take the oath without single remark before the public. What would my oppo- nts say to Papists if they justified such duplicity and shonesty? Will oaths be any security, if it be lawful make previous private protests, and publicly to swear ldly through the whole? But this was not all: the od archbishop had to swear the same oath again before was invested with the Pallium, and he swore it, pub- ly and openly and unqualifiedly; and it is the admirers

of this man of apostolic simplicity who charge with disregard for their oaths the men who suffered every speci of plunder and contumely, rather than take an oath whi they cannot look upon as a testimony to truth! It is t admirers of this man who charge us with having pap dispensations to swear as we please!

This same good bishop who swore to observe the canon yielded precedence in the convocation to Thomas Crumwel a layman, as Vicar-General of his Majesty, King Hen VIII, to whom, as supreme head on earth of God's Churc he now swore the oath of supremacy; and because th king desired him, he, in contravention of that oath, yielde his own powers, and procured the other bishops to do th same, and to petition the king for commissions during h good pleasure. To how many contradictions and inconsi tencies did he set his signature? How often did he swe to one side and the other? This is my opponents' fir archbishop. Have Roman Catholics ever reasoned so badl or been so grossly unjust as to infer from this man' exhibitions, that it is a tenet of the English Protestan Church, that oaths are not binding? Have they ever bee guilty of the foul calumny of charging that Church wit holding as tenets the corrupt maxims of its criminal mem bers or the follies of its weak members, and unblushingl asserted that men who fall far short in their practice c the morality which it teaches, were better in their conduc than the principles of their religion; and that their virtu was the result of their ignorance of their own tenets?

I do not mean to give my opponents more than a slight hint for the purpose of refreshing their memories but if they are disposed to enter fully into the details, I will pledge myself to give them facts, until they cry ou "hold, hold—enough, enough." Suppose the Pope did caus those princes to be deposed who would not obey the genera law of Christendom in favor of morality. Is the Roma Catholic Church the only one which deposes magistrate for their peculiarity of doctrine? Allow me here to d

ustice to the Vaudois. In my last, I in the hurry of my en wrote their name where I ought not: the early Vau- ois, that is, in the twelfth century, ought not to be classed ith the folks of Bulgaria, or Toulouse, or Albi. Let us ear a few of the Reformers on this subject. Wickliffe ould depose a magistrate for having committed any mortal in; one much less than heresy would answer: for instance, uch a trifle as bearing false witness against a body of rom one to two hundred millions of persons during about ighteen hundred years. I have no doubt but he would say, a man neither ought to be a king nor even have power o preach in a Senate chamber, who would have committed his peccadillo. What would he then have said to heresy, nd especially to this heresy? Luther often attacked that rch heretic, the Pope. But in his "Theses," published n 1545, he informs his friends that the Pope is a mad olf, "against which the world takes up arms at the first signal, without waiting for any command from a magistrate, nd if after he has been shut up in an inclosure, the magistrate sets him at liberty, you may continue to pursue he savage beast, and with impunity attack those that pre- ent his destruction. If you fall in the engagement before he beast has received a mortal wound, you have only one hing to repent of, that you did not bury your dagger in is breast. This is the way to deal with the Pope; all hose who defend him must be treated also like a band f robbers under their captain, whether they be kings or æsars." This is pretty clear.

But England! Yes, that land of light and liberty. She ould not depose a king, if he became a Catholic! Is ere no law in England to depose a king for being of n unparliamentary religion? Indeed, indeed, I am not ery fond of the memory of James II. I would not pay is relics as much respect as King George IV has paid em. I believe, however, that the true reason for his eposition was his Popery. Kings more arbitrary held the eptre without having been deposed. Was he as arbitrary as

his father, the martyr of my opponents' calendar? I beg their pardon; not theirs, but that of the Church of England. Was he as arbitrary as his first name sake? I may be allowed the privilege of my country, if I make a king of the good Queen Bess. Pray, did the pusillanimous monarch, who helped to ruin that country, kick and cuff as despotically as did this virgin mistress? I am in error, for I address my opponents as if they were clergymen of the English Protestant Church. What think they of King Henry VIII, "the faithful and true minister of most famous memory?" Which was the greater despot, the greater tyrant, Henry VIII or James II? James was dethroned not so much for his Popery even, as because he endeavored to have the Papists tolerated. I do not attempt to justify his mode of doing what any honest man ought to do. But no king or queen that ever previously occupied the British throne was questioned for doing similar acts to those for which he was dethroned; nor would he, but for his religion. And, if the present King of England were to become a Roman Catholic from a conscientious motive, the law of England would depose him, as effectually as the law of the year 1215 would have deposed any feudal lord in Europe. Is it not a deposition from the office of constable, not to say governor, in North Carolina, to deny the truth of the Protestant religion? Are not the enjoyment of civil rights and the capacity of being elected to offices of trust or profit and to the legislature, attempted to be confined to Protestants in New Jersey? Though upon looking closely at the clause, I suspect some one has cheated the persons who wished to exclude all but Protestants, and only permitted them in truth to come in under the appearance of courtesy, for what it was meant they should possess exclusively.[1] Thus we find, if Catholics did exclude those who differed from them in religion from governing, and required their deposition, Protestants have done the same, and they still do *the same*—and do it, not only in England, but in the

[1] These laws were swept away chiefly by the exertions of Bishop England.

l States of America: and only that delicacy to indi-
s restrains me, I could show the American public,
t has and does produce very serious inconveniences
any excellent citizens. I do not advert to the old
laws of Connecticut. I allude to laws and principles
in operation. I love America better than they do,
always boast of everything and of every person; but
ve is not that blind affection which leads to unmean-
hapsody—but that fond attachment which prizes and
preserve all the good which now is, and would
vor to find and acquire that which is wanting. I love
ica, as Brooke makes Gustavus Vasa love Dalecarlia:[1]

"With thee I sought this favorite soil: with thee
These favorite sons I sought: thy sons, O Liberty!
For even amid the wilds of life you lead them,
Lift their low rafted cottage to the clouds,
Smile o'er their heaths, and from their mountain tops
Beam glory to the nations.

* * * * * *

"Are ye not marked by all the circling world,
As the great stake, the last effort for liberty?
Say!—is it not your wealth, the thirst, the food,
The scope, the bright ambition of your souls?
Why else have you, and your renowned forefathers,
From the proud summit of their glitt'ring thrones
Cast down the mightiest of your lawful kings,
That dared the bold infringement?

* * * * * *

"Now from my soul I joy. I joy, my friends
To see ye feared; to see that e'en your foes
Do justice to your valor!"

ich is my love for America. But that love and ad-
ion shall not blind my mind's eye, if I be master of
owers. I shall not therefore say that any State in
ica does right in disfranchising a Catholic, merely
se of his religion. I shall not say that my opponents
ight in styling America a Protestant country, for the
e is suited only to a State which gives a preference

[1] is worthy of remark that aft r Gustavus Vasa was raised to the throne by
olic Catholics of Dalecarlia, he turned upon and subjected them to a cruel
tion.

to the Protestant religion. Would I reason correctly were to say from these premises that the Protestan ligion teaches that if Catholics are in power they oug be deposed, and if not in power, they should not be e thereto? Would I reason correctly if I asserted tha Protestant religion teaches that powerful Catholics oug be assassinated, because I find it to be a fact tha Duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, and that represents it as done very probably by the inspirati heaven? Am I in reviewing the miseries and the c dation of Ireland, to attribute to the Protestant religic the murders of persons of my creed, committed unde pretext of love of God, by those of one like my oppon This is an account which we have yet to adjust.

Produce one fact similar to the breach of the artic Limerick, in Ireland; show me where Catholics broke which they plighted to Protestants. The head of the lish Church pledged his faith, and the faith of Prot England, to the traitors, the Irish Papists, that if they down their arms, and surrendered the city of Limerick the other garrisons which they held, and acknowledged to be King of Ireland—for he had not yet been recog by them as King of Ireland—that country not being under the dominion of the English parliament, wa bound by the act of that body—he would guarantee to freedom of conscience, full civil rights, and their pro Yet when their army was disbanded, they were pers for the profession of their faith; they were stripped of civil rights; they were plundered of their property; were calumniated to the world. More than a centur elapsed, and this injustice continues; this violation of with Catholics is persevered in by the Protestant he the English Church, by the Protestant bishops, by the estant peers, by the Protestant House of Commons. opponents retail the calumnies against the people wl hither from this perfidious oppression, and without ad one fact, they tell us that we keep no faith with he

Our forefathers kept their faith with them with a vengeance. They kept it very unnecessarily too. Plighted faith creates mutual obligation, and perfidy on one side discharges obligation on the other.[1]

VIII.

We now enter upon a new topic. I come to examine the correctness of the following assertions in my opponents' article: "1. A Roman Catholic can be in principle a faithful subject of a Protestant government, only when an unfaithful subject of the Pope. 2. A consistent Papist, and a dutiful subject of a Protestant administration, must be incompatible, so long as the Pope shall claim jurisdiction over all Christendom, and the Roman Church shall continue to maintain that faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics. 3. The only reason why, among Papists, there are many good subjects of Protestant governments, arises from the fact that there are so many in the Roman Church inconsistent with their profession, better than their profession, having no idea of all the doctrines and all the erroneous corruptions of the faith they acknowledge."

It will greatly facilitate our progress to know accurately the meaning of those assertions. To know the meaning, we should discover the object of their introduction. The first clauses of the sentence in which they are found, explain the objects of introducing the above passages in this precious paragraph. These clauses are the following: "1. Such are the doctrines of a Church, the members of which have raised an outcry against the intolerant spirit of the English government for not receiving them to a full share of its administration. 2. They might as well accuse that government of cruelty, for banishing the wretched criminal to New Holland; or of illiberality, for punishing the man who traitorously conspires against his country."

[1] Dr. Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, undertook to preach a series of sermons in Christ Church, Dublin, and did preach to prove that Protestants ought not to keep faith with Papists, and that the treaty of Limerick ought not to have been observed.

Thus, their argument, if good for anything, is this: "The Roman Catholics cannot complain of being persecuted by Great Britain, for they are traitors who ought to be punished." In what, I ask, does their treason consist? I am answered: "In not being faithful subjects of a Protestant government." In what does their want of fidelity to that government consist? "In saying that the Pope has jurisdiction over all Christendom." Also, "in the Roman Church maintaining that faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics."

Allow me here to pause; I write hastily, carelessly. I do not occupy a month in putting together three columns of a magazine; still I should lay down my pen were I to have written as much nonsense in a year as the few extracts now before me contain. Seldom, indeed, very seldom, have I been under the necessity of totally changing the structure of a sentence which I examined, in order to put forward clearly what the writer meant to convey. Yet I could not put this wretched compilation of my opponents into any form which would make it intelligible, or enable me to examine it as I ought, without such a process. A story which is told, I believe, of King Charles II, would apply well to this writing. A peasant having contributed greatly to his majesty's safety or amusement on some occasion, was asked what reward he expected: "I hope your majesty will make me a gentleman." "That," replied the king, "is no easy matter; there can be no question but I can make you a knight or a baron or even a duke; but I fear all the kings and emperors on earth could not make you a gentleman."

I can well guess what is the drift of my opponents' propositions, but certainly their logical meaning is not that drift. For instance, the following proposition might be taught with a safe conscience: "Faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics." Now the proposition is equivocal: the word faith has several meanings. Were I to understand by the word faith, the belief of religious doctrine, I would unhesi-

tatingly maintain this proposition: "A man who knowingly and willingly keeps faith with heretics, offends God, and of course commits sin." A heretic is a person who denies some truth which God has revealed. If I act in this way, I am unquestionably criminal for my deliberate denial of what I know God has revealed. Again, I could by faith mean fidelity to a lawful promise: now I could, with truth and moral rectitude, teach this proposition: "Faith is not necessary to be kept with heretics." The reason is plain: it is not necessary to keep a promise which has not been made—it is not necessary to make any promise to heretics. When I do not then make the promise of fidelity, I am not bound to keep this promise, which I have not made, either by act or by implication. What my opponents ought to have written is the following: "The Roman Catholic Church teaches that Roman Catholics are not obliged to keep their fidelity to heretics." This is a very different proposition from either of the others, and is the one which they probably meant to give.

A countryman of mine accompanied a friend of his, who understood the language of France, to that kingdom. In passing through the streets, they observed a man carrying a pair of buckets, and crying, "Eau! Eau!" "What is that fellow saying?" asked the Irishman. "Water," replied his friend; "he has it for sale in those buckets." "Would it not then be as easy for him to say water?" asked my countryman. Indeed, it is not over-squeamishness in me to hope that in future my opponents will write in such a manner as to express their ideas.

The proposition which I have transformed into a gentleman is not true. Thus, this reason will not justify the British persecution of Roman Catholics, because a falsehood is no reason—it is only pretext. Allow me to ask, what jurisdiction does the Pope claim over Christendom? Is it spiritual? Is it temporal? Is there no distinction? I shall take the last first. The British government can only be justified by proving that the Pope claims temporal juris-

diction, either directly or by implication, and that the Roman Catholics under them maintain his right thereto; or by showing that spiritual jurisdiction in the Pope is incompatible with their temporal right. Great Britain teaches that the power of the king is not complete without his being head of the Church; and that to disobey him upon the head of ecclesiastical duty is rebellion; and thus, that it is treason to deny his headship, and to give to the Pope ecclesiastical authority. Is this assertion correctly constitutional? This was first made part of the law of England by 26 of Henry VIII, 1, 3, 13; and on May 5, 1535, the first of its victims, the priors of charter-houses of London, Axiholm and Belleval, together with a monk of Syon and a secular clergyman, suffered the death of traitors, at Tyburn, not for asserting the supremacy of the Pope, but for denying the supremacy of the king as head of the Church, "thereby depriving the sovereign of the dignity, style, and name of his royal estate." On June 22, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, suffered the penalty of treason for denying, maliciously and traitorously, that the king was head of the Church. In the indictment under which Sir Thomas More was convicted, the second charge was, "having traitorously sought to deprive the king of his title of head of the Church;" and this upright chancellor suffered the pains of a traitor, and had his head fixed on London Bridge. Thus, we see the criminality consisted in denying the title of ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, and thereby depriving him of a part of his royal name, title, and estate. Am I awake? Is it in the United States of America such language as this is held? Are we, in the very federal city, from a man who might be selected to preach religious instruction to the Senate of the people the most free upon the earth, and who ought to be most jealous of the sanctuary of that freedom, the Senate chamber, to be taught that a man is unworthy of the compassion of his fellowmen—is deserving the punishment of a traitor, because he *refuses* to swear that the King of England ought to be

obeyed as head of the Church? Shade of the immortal Washington! genius of Patrick Henry! can you slumber in peace whilst this doctrine is proclaimed? Jefferson and Adams, will you sanction the reproach of black treason against your venerable brother, Charles Carroll, who, together with you, still survives to welcome to our shores that warrior who was but one of the Popish leaders of a Popish army, that aided you to fling off the tyranny of the head of the Church, who, as the Declaration of Independence states, plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people; who transported large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation, much less the supreme head on earth of Christ's Church? Shall we now be told that no compassion is to be shown to a people whose conscience would not permit them to swear that, without any Gospel authority, without any reason but that of the strong, despotic power of such a rapacious monster of lust and cruelty as Henry VIII—that man was head of the Church, who in every stage of frightful oppressions, when petitioned for redress in the most humble terms, answered those petitions only by repeated injury?—a man who excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and who endeavored to bring upon our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions? Yet all those acts of tyranny in America are but specks, which would be scarcely distinguished upon the surface of that calamitous ocean of evils under which my unfortunate country was merged, by the Church of which this man was the mildest, the most lenient, the most meek and virtuous apostolic head! And will the people of America—the descendants of men who would not submit to Church tyranny—the descendants of men who would not submit to any tyranny—one-third of whom are

Irishmen, or the descendants, or the connections of Irishmen, and another large portion of whom are English or Scotch, or the descendants of English and Scotch, who have suffered for not taking the oath of supremacy to the King of England—will they all permit themselves to be told by my opponents that they and their progenitors were traitors, because they would not swear this oath, which even the present chaplain to the Senate would not swear?

See whither my opponents' folly naturally leads them. In every nation every government possesses the right of establishing a special religion; and whosoever will not obey the government in conforming to this religion, is a traitor. Is this the doctrine of the chaplain to the Senate of the United States of America? Public opinion implicates him with this principle. The Senate has selected him to teach them their religious duties. The chaplain preaches: "Whoever will not be a Protestant under a Protestant government, is a traitor—America is under a Protestant government: the Papists will burn us as soon as they can, for they are traitors in principle." This is what the Rev. Mr. Hawley has published. He knows who wrote it. I believe it was not written by him. What does the Constitution say? "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Upon this clear and solid principle of our Constitution, no Roman Catholic owes allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and so far from being a traitor and deserving punishment, he is but an oppressed and aggrieved man who has been unjustly plundered of his rights, which are unjustly withheld by a tyrannical government. And a Catholic who swears allegiance to the British king is bound to observe his oath to the same extent only, that a weak man who is confined by a strong robber is bound by an oath which he takes that he will not use any unconceded advantage of a partial liberty which he may obtain under the pledge of his oath. A regard to the sacred nature of

oath binds him who takes it to observe every lawful mise which he makes even to his oppressor; but the erence of the injured man for his oath is not a remis- ı to the invader of his right nor a justification of his ression. He cannot meet injustice by crime. He may line swearing, and then use all lawful means to obtain rights. But if he voluntarily puts some of those means of his own power by bargaining not to use them and aring to refrain from their use, he is bound by his gain and by his oath, but not otherwise.

Did the people of England and Ireland give to the g, in their original compact, a power to make them nge their religion according to his caprice? Did the ıops and the barons at Runnymede give to John a ver to make traitors of those who would refuse to make ı supreme head of their Church, that he might with ater facility indulge his beastly propensities, reward his equious panders, and put to death his honest and con- ıntious advisers? In vain does one look for such a ıse in the laws of Edward, of Alfred, of Ina, or of ın the Norman invaders. There is no such clause in Great Charter. Do my opponents find its origin in Gospel? They find it enacted by the vilest collection slaves that ever crouched before a voluptuous tyrant, ler circumstances which took away even the semblance liberty. They find it based upon flagrant injustice, raised the midst of jibbets and scaffolds, cemented with blood, l decorated with all the emblems of legalized murder, n that of the conscientious chancellor to that of the ıprincipled concubine. They are American citizens. Call y this a constitution?

This is a sweeping clause, with a vengeance. They tell Pilgrims of New England that their progenitors were tors; so Archbishop Laud told their fathers. They tell Friends of Pennsylvania that their fathers were traitors; the bishops of the Church of England told their fathers. ey tell us, wretched outcasts of Irish Papists, that we

are traitors. They imagine that we have been now so long accustomed to their insolence, that we should bear it with as much patience as the old cook expected from the eels, of whose restlessness she complained, as they presumed to writhe under her hand during the operation of being flayed alive, though she had been upwards of forty years in the practice, and they ought to have known it. God grant us patience: we have not been as yet ten years accustomed to my opponents' falsehood, though their fathers have been telling lies of our fathers during upwards of two hundred and fifty years. Still we are not tamed down to acquiescence, and we are so indocile, that as yet we have not been untaught the difference between what is fact and what is calumny.

But to be serious: Are my opponents not the most unfortunate of writers? In this land of true, and genuine, and rational freedom—in the very sunshine of well-regulated liberty—to presume to establish such a principle of despotism and intolerance! I know well and intimately the principles of the Church of England and those of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. They are by no means similar even in their discipline. As for doctrine: my opponents will excuse me from stating what is now unnecessary. In pure despotism and intolerance, I know no Church which ever has approximated to the Church of England. What then could have induced them to assimilate their Church to it? Theirs is a more respectable Church. Theirs is a more permanent Church. Theirs will survive the Church of England. What induced them to defend for its honor the principle which would destroy the claim of the Protestant in France? which justified the Inquisition? which would drive from every country under a Catholic government every one who was not a Catholic? For if the English or Irish Catholic is a traitor, because he disobeys his government, upon the score of religion—why shall not the Huguenot in France *be justly* condemned as a traitor? why not condemn as a *traitor the* Moor in Spain? the Jew in Portugal? the

hristian in Constantinople? Is not Europe, according to
iem, wrong in not aiding the Sublime Porte to repress
iose rebellious Greeks who rejected the Koran? Are not
he Christians in Asia wretched traitors who give but a
ivided allegiance to their legitimate sovereign who is head
f the Church as of the State? I call it a flagrant usurpa-
ion. I cannot but feel proud that under all their sufferings
ay countrymen have never crouched to this slavery. I differ
rom the Scotch Presbyterians in doctrine; but I respect
he consistency which made them reject the headship of
he king, when they rejected the headship of the Pope.
n vain do I look through the world to find a Church
imilarly enslaved as that of England. Russia exhibits its
earest resemblance. Mahomedanism is its exact counter-
art; the Sultan is the head of the Church by the same
ight; he is temporal ruler, and one is equally a traitor
who disobeys his religious order or his imperial firman.
And my opponents would seek to justify this? Yes! for
hey advocate the principle. Are they Americans?

I am proud of America because she not only disavows
ut condemns that principle of slavery. It is a heresy in
eligion—it is an absurdity in politics to assert, that be-
ause a man possesses political power, therefore he possesses
ecclesiastical jurisdiction; or that because he has spiritual
power, he therefore has magisterial rights in the State.
The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and the prin-
ciples of the American Constitution are in unison upon this
subject. The doctrines of the Church of England and the
principles of our Constitution are in direct opposition upon
he subject. And if one adopt the doctrine of the Eng-
ish Church he is not a good citizen of America. In
aming the religion of which my opponents are clergymen,
t became necessary to reject some doctrines of the English
hurch. Her liturgy was mutilated; her canons made use-
ss; and a vast portion of the homilies are blasphemies
gainst our liberties. And is it possible that my opponents
till cling to all that has been thus rejected?

I have read with pleasure the account of the dinn given by our Congress to La Fayette on the first of th month,[1] and I prized the intellect which gave to a toa frequently offered on public occasions its true and accurat expression: "The people, the source of all political power. Yes, and the declaration of the present King of Gre Britain, when he was Prince of Wales, is in perfect ac cordance with that principle expressed in the toast. Hi declaration was: "That the crown was held by the kin in trust for the people." The kingly power is political it is derived from the people. They are the source c political power. But they are not the source of spiritu power, they are not the source of ecclesiastical power. Th King of England did not obtain from them what the could not give. Roman Catholics believe that as politic power is derived from the people, so spiritual and eccl siastical power is derived from God. They saw no evidenc of the fact that God had given this power to the Kin of England, therefore they would not swear that he po sessed what was not given to him. Is this a crime? A I a criminal when I assert that James Monroe, for whor and for whose office I have more respect than for all th British kings since the Norman conquests and for thei office, has no supremacy over any Church? Shall I b called a traitor, if I refuse to fashion my religion accor ing to his wish or opinion, though no subject of an king is more devotedly ready to obey him, than I am t obey with alacrity every constitutional order of the Pres dent of the Union or of the Governor of South Carolina I am not then a traitor—I am not a criminal, because refuse to acknowledge in the President or the Governor power which is not in him. I was not a traitor—I w not a criminal in my native country, when I refused t swear that George III was supreme head of the Churc I saw its origin to be the usurpation of the eighth Henr *This usurpation* was no evidence of right. It is a pow *which the* people could not give. I would be guilty

[1] January 1, 1824.

ury if I swore it. Produce evidence to show any rea-
ıble man in this Union, that I ought to have sworn
oath of supremacy, and I will yield to my opponents
palm of victory.

I shall put a case for them to solve. When our blessed
iour taught in Judea, He was the supreme head of
l's Church. Ireland was not then under the Roman
ıeror's authority, she was governed by her native kings.
pose an Irishman of that day was convinced of the
ne authority of our blessed Lord, and told his fellow-
ıtrymen that they ought to acknowledge the authority
Christ in matters of religion; that they should receive
decisions in their spiritual concerns; that they should
ı congregations and have their churches regulated ac-
ling to His advice; that the persons to be admitted as
guides of their souls ought to derive from the Saviour
r instruction and their authority. Would my opponents
rt that this man might be justly taken up as a traitor;
he ought to be considered as a bad subject; that his
ıiance was divided, and that he could be a faithful sub-
of the Irish king only when an unfaithful subject of
Saviour? Yet here they would say that the spiritual
nission of this man to the foreigner did not interfere
ı his temporal or political allegiance to his native monarch.
hey adopt the principle that spiritual obedience to a
ıgner is a violation of allegiance to the State, do they
justify every nation which persecuted the citizens of
ects who adhered to foreign claimants of spiritual
ır? Thus they justify every persecutor of the early
rch. Do they violate the right of the Indian chief
persuading one of his tribe against the wish of the
to become a Christian? Has that chief a right in
ience to punish that convert upon the plea that his
iance to him is lessened by its being shared between
and one of their black-coats? The argument is of
same value whether it be applied to an individual of
ndering tribe or the population of the Chinese empire.

All the early martyrs of the Church disobeyed kings
emperors in matters of religion: will my opponents
them traitors, and say that they ought to have been
to death? Was Nero justified in beheading St Paul?
he only act as he ought in crucifying St. Peter?
Pontius Pilate a meritorious governor, who conscientiou
exercised his authority in putting Jesus Christ to de
upon the charge of His seducing the people from t
allegiance to Cæsar? The charge which my opponents m
upon the Papists is exactly the same charge which
Jews were in the habit of making against the Apost
From that day to the present we have met it as we m
it now. We have a kingdom it is true, in which we
no obedience to Cæsar; but our kingdom is not of t
world; and whilst we render unto God the things t
are God's, we render unto Cæsar the things that
Cæsar's. To the successors of the Apostles we render t
obedience which is due to the authority left by Jesus Chr
who alone could bestow it. We do not give it to
President, we do not give it to the Governor, we do
give it to the Congress, we do not give it to the Leg
ture of the State. Neither do my opponents nor do
civil powers claim it; nor would we give it if they d
for the claim would be unfounded. We give to th
everything which the Constitution requires; my oppone
give no more—they ought not to give more. Let the P
and cardinals and all the powers of the Catholic wo
united make the least encroachment on that Constituti
we will protect it with our lives. Summon a gene
council; let that council interfere in the mode of our ele
ing but an assistant to a turnkey of a prison—we de
its right; we reject its usurpation. Let that council lay
tax of one cent only upon any of our churches—we w
not pay it. Yet, we are most obedient Papists; we belie
the Pope is Christ's Vicar on earth, supreme visible he
of the Church throughout the world, and lawful succes
to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. We believe all t

power is in Pope Leo XII, and we believe that a general council is infallible in doctrinal decisions. Yet we deny to Pope and council united any power to interfere with one tittle of our political rights, as firmly as we deny the power of interfering with one tittle of our spiritual rights to the President and Congress. We will obey each in its proper place, we will resist any encroachment by one upon the rights of the other. Will my opponents permit Congress to do the duties of their convention?

I shall now proceed to examine a few facts, the plain result of which must destroy their positions. Kings and emperors of the Roman Catholic Church have frequently been at war with the Pope. Yet they did not cease to be members of the Church, and subject to his spiritual jurisdiction, although they resisted his warlike attacks. Any person in the least degree acquainted with the history of Europe can easily refer to several instances. The distinction drawn by our blessed Saviour, when He stood in the presence of Pilate, was the principle of those rulers. They were faithful to the head of the Church whose kingdom is not of this world, but they repelled the attack of an enemy to their rights. My opponents acknowledge the authority of bishops. Suppose a bishop under whom they were placed proceeded to take away their property; could they not defend their rights at law without infringing upon his spiritual authority? Are they reduced to the dilemma of being plundered or of denying an article of their religion? Can they not keep their property and deny the right of the bishop to take it away and resist his aggression, at the same time that they are canonically obedient? Can they not be faithful to him as bishop, and to themselves as men? Thus, suppose the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland claimed some right which he either had by their Church law nor by the law of the state. They may and ought to resist the aggression. Yet they would not be unfaithful to him. Let the Pope be placed in the same predicament; I can be faithful to the

Pope and to the government under which I live. I not whether that government be administered by a Pa by a Protestant, by a Jew, by a Mohammedan, or b Pagan. It is then untrue to assert, as my opponents l done, that a consistent Papist and a dutiful subject o Protestant administration must be incompatible.

IX.

Let me distinctly lay down what Roman Catholics t concerning the Pope's power; that is, what they are bo by their profession, as Roman Catholics, to believe. T believe that he has all the power which our blessed Sav gave to St. Peter. They do not, as Roman Catholics, bel that he has one particle more. Tiberius and Nero were t poral rulers. St. Peter did not by virtue of his autho claim to be a partner of their throne, nor did he as that their power was derived from him; nor did he as that it could be taken away from him. And when C stantine became a Christian, Pope Sylvester, who claimed the power which St. Peter possessed, never claimed to the donor of power to Constantine, nor did he add to authority which that emperor had, and which he posse and used as fully before his baptism as after. Constan lost no temporal power by becoming a Christian; Sylve gained no new power from God, from the circumstance the emperor's conversion. If the successors of Peter gai any temporal power, it was by the concession of the pe or of princes; not by the appointment of God. If t were vested with any right of arbitration between k or princes or people, in temporal or political concerns was by the act of those kings and princes and peo It was not by any new revelation of any article of fa nor was it by entering into possession or use of any right, from using or possessing which they had been fo bly restrained.

Thus, God never gave to St. Peter any temporal po any authority to depose kings, any authority to inter

with political concerns. And any rights which his successors might claim for any of those purposes must be derived from some other source. A Roman Catholic has no farther connection with the Pope than as he succeeds Peter; Peter had none of those rights. As a Roman Catholic I know nothing of them in the Pope; he is equally Pope with or without them. Mr. McIlvain would not be the less pastor of his congregation for being chaplain to the Senate, and though he should lose his chaplaincy when his father will vacate his seat, he will not thereby cease to be pastor. The clergymen who are members of Congress are not, by holding their seats, less clergymen than if they had them not. Neither is the Pope less Pope because there is now attached to his office the possession of a territory which must be governed. Nor would he be less Pope though another Bonaparte should rob him and put him into prison. And Pius VII, under the lock of the man who died on St. Helena, was as much the head of our Church, as was Gregory who made Europe bow and shook her monarchs with terror.

Roman Catholics believe the Pope to be the successor of St. Peter, and therefore to be entitled to a supremacy of honor and jurisdiction through the whole of the Christian world. This honor is only that which is due to a spiritual head; this jurisdiction is only in spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns. The American Constitution leaves its citizens in perfect freedom to have whom they please to regulate their spiritual concerns. But if the Pope were to declare war against America, and any Roman Catholic under the pretext of spiritual obedience was to refuse to oppose this temporal aggressor, he would deserve to be punished for his refusal, because he owes to his country to maintain its rights. Spiritual power does not and cannot destroy the claim which the government has upon him. Suppose a clergyman of England were convicted of some crime—for instance, Dr. Dodd—and he was ordered for execution; must the law be inoperative because the crim-

inal is a clergyman? Do my opponents think that no one could be found in a Roman Catholic country to sentence or to execute a sentence upon a clergyman who was a criminal? All history testifies to the contrary. So, too, does all history show that upon the same principle Catholic kings and princes and peers and people have disobeyed improper mandates of the See of Rome, and have levied and carried on war against Popes, and still continued members of the Church.

I shall give a very few instances. In the first fact which I adduce my opponents will find the spiritual grounds for the Pope's interference, which they will agree with me in pronouncing to be wholly inapplicable to our present state of society; and of no force whatever, as respects the United States.

When in the year 1202 John of England seized upon Arthur, the son of Geoffry, and imprisoned him at Rouen, after which this boy was never heard of: John having been strongly suspected of the murder of his nephew, was summoned, as Duke of Normandy, upon the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes, to answer to Philip of France, as his sovereign. Having neglected to appear, Philip, in the presence of the peers of France, pronounced sentence: "That whereas John, Duke of Normandy, in violation of his oath to Philip his lord, had murdered Arthur, the son of his elder brother, a homager of the crown of France, and near kinsman to the king, and had perpetrated the crime within the seignory of France, he was found guilty of felony and treason, and was therefore adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held by homage." King Philip and the Bretons proceeded to execute this sentence by taking possession of the Duchy of Normandy. John was soon obliged to fly to England, and sought the aid of the Pope, who was the identical Innocent III, under whom was held the Council of Lateran, whose canons I have had to examine. Innocent sent two legates to King Philip to require of him to desist, and to decide the controversy

between the two kings. Mark now in his letter the grounds of his right to interpose. After quoting the text from Matt. xviii, 15, 16, and 17, he proceeds:

"Now the King of England maintains that, by enforcing the execution of an unjust sentence, the King of France has trespassed against him. He has therefore admonished him of his fault in the manner prescribed by the Gospel, and meeting with no redress, has, according to the admonition of the same Gospel, appealed to the Church; how can we then, whom divine providence has placed at the head of that Church, refuse to obey the divine command? How can we hesitate to proceed according to the form pointed out by Christ Himself? We do not arrogate to ourselves any right as to judging the fee of the land or territory that belongs to the sovereign, the King of France. But we have a right to judge as to the sin committed, and it is our duty so to do whoever may be the offender. It has moreover been provided by the imperial law, that if one or two litigant parties shall prefer the judgment of the Apostolic See, the other shall be bound to submit thereto and to abide its judgment. But we say not this as if we would thereby found our jurisdiction upon civil authority. God has made it our duty to reprehend the man who falls into mortal sin, and if he neglect our reprehensions, to compel him to amend, by ecclesiastical censures. Moreover, both parties, viz., the kings, have sworn to observe the late treaty of peace; and now it is plain that Philip has broken that treaty, the cognizance of cases of perjury is well known, and is universally allowed to belong to the ecclesiastical courts. Wherefore, upon this ground also we have a right to call the princes to our tribunal."

Here we perceive the grounds on which the Pope claims a right to interfere. First, one which our Saviour meant for fraternal correction between individuals, and punishment of unjust aggressors, by the Church. The manner of punishment is specified—ecclesiastical censures. Suppose I held all this to be true; suppose I did say that it regarded

nations as well as individuals: assuming my opponents' principle of private judgment to ascertain the meaning of the text. The Pope has this right as well as they have it. He has then proved his case from the Gospel, and by their principle the Pope has a right by their Scriptures to act as he assumes, and they would be enemies of the Scriptures and of God in denying it. My principle, however, will destroy his right. As a Roman Catholic, I believe the Scriptures are not to be interpreted according to the caprice of the Pope, nor according to my opponents' caprice nor mine, but according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Now that consent confines the meaning of this passage to individuals, and does not extend it to governments. Wherefore, though I believe the exercise of the power was often salutary, I believe it was also often injudicious and injurious, and is applicable only to individuals. If it extends only to Church censures, what danger is there to America from that cause? Sometimes the sovereign deprived the censured person of his property; but this was by his temporal power. The Church had no such power.

As to the perjury: the law of Europe then gave its cognizance to the ecclesiastical courts. But the law of America does not. We have no dread upon this score. As to the imperial law, with that too we have no concern.

As Protestants, my opponents could not refute the Scriptural doctrine of the Pope nor evade its application. As a Catholic, I assert it goes farther in its implication than the text warrants. So Philip of France thought, and disobeyed the mandate, and deprived John of Normandy. Yet Philip never left the Church; he always continued to be a steadfast Papist.

Were I to follow up the enumeration of facts similar to this in the several countries of Christendom, I should write volumes, and each fact would more clearly prove that the spiritual obedience which a Roman Catholic owes to the Pope does not in the most remote degree interfere with

his fidelity to the government under which he lives; because the principle of the Roman Catholic is, that spiritual authority springs from God, and regards the concerns of a man's soul in respect to eternal things; temporal authority, though sanctioned by God, springs from the people, and regards the concerns of a man's well being as to the peace of this world and the goods of time. The spiritual ruler has no power to order the latter concerns, the temporal ruler has no power to order the former. But the principle of my opponents' much-admired English Church vests the management of both concerns in the same tribunal, and thus gives to the English oligarchy a more unlimited jurisdiction that could be claimed by or would be allowed to the most despotic monarch of Spain or Portugal.

Let us see a few more facts. When, in 1213, that same Innocent pronounced sentence of deposition from the throne of England against John himself, and committed its execution to Philip of France, John summoned his Catholic subjects. They were all Papists. Notwithstanding the papal sentence, they came to the coast of Kent, sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of April, captured Philip's squadron at the mouth of the Seine, destroyed the ships in the harbor of Fecamp, and burned the town of Dieppe. But, what the Pope's sentence never could effect, John's own lust and despotism effected. He alienated the affections of his people from his throne; he made enormous exactions from the laity; he plundered the monasteries and stripped the clergy, though they all supported him against the Pope and the King of France. Yet not one of them fell under any censure, nor did any one of them, upon the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, commit the slightest act of infidelity to the Pope by opposing the army of Philip. If my opponents cannot understand this, it is because they do not know the principles of the feudal system which then prevailed, nor the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, which never changes.

When John disgraced and degraded himself by swearing fealty to the Pope, in presence of the Legate Pandulf, he

was forced to render the crown of England tributary to Rome by his own weakness, not by any principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The very men who had returned with him from his enterprise in France would have defended him against a world in arms. He had 60,000 of them, flushed with victory, still at his side. But a tyrant is always weak, and he felt that the arms which they bore might be turned against himself, not because of the Pope's interference, of which they had been aware before they assembled, and to oppose the execution of which they assembled, and to prevent the execution of which they had fought in the Channel and in France; but because of the crimes by which he was daily exasperating them. The people, as well as the barons, knew that John had acted illegally, tyrannically, and irreligiously towards the Archbishop of Canterbury (Langton) and the other bishops: they knew that John had incurred as well as deserved the censures of the Church. To all this they made no opposition; but when they found the King of France preparing to invade their country, and were called by their king to its defence, though he had deserved all the censures of the Church, they felt it to be their duty, the Pope's declarations notwithstanding, to repel every invader. Thus, in fact, they were faithful subjects to an impious king, and were not unfaithful to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, although they refused to obey the mandates of the arbiter of kings under the feudal system, and still under that system it was lawful for them to disobey. If my opponents know the nature of that system, they can explain those apparent incongruities. If they do not, I advise them, for the sake of their own character, to avoid writing about what they do not understand.

The reign of John is most fruitful in exemplifications. To pass over many others, I shall take one which regards the Great Charter. Primate Langton, upon his return, had required of John, before the removal of the excommunication, to swear, at Winchester, that he would abolish all

illegal customs, restore to every man his rights, and revive the laws of the good King Edward.

The barons met at St. Albans, under the presidency of the justiciary, Fitz Peter, and published the laws of Henry I, which were supposed to contain the provisions of Edward the Confessor. John, who found the barons had not followed him to France, which he intended to invade, returned from Jersey, and in his fury was about to do military execution upon the peers, who had published those laws, which he never seriously intended to have enforced. The primate restrained him, and insisted that if they were charged with crime, they should be tried by their peers. The barons met on the 25th of August, at St. Paul's, in London. Langton read to them the provisions of the charter of Henry I, commented upon them, enforced the necessity of restraining the king's lawless tyranny by its enactments, and prevailed on them to swear to each other, to die in defence of their liberties, sooner than make any surrender thereof.

On the 20th of November, 1214, the barons assembled at the Abbey of St. Edmunds, after having, in several previous meetings, fixed the special demands which they were to make: all having been made ready and committed to writing. One by one, each advanced to the high altar, and took a solemn oath to God and to his peers, to withdraw his allegiance from John as a tyrant, should he refuse to grant the claims of their and the public rights.

On the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1215, exactly six hundred and ten years ago, five hundred and sixty years and six months before the Declaration of American Independence, the bishops and other barons followed the king to the Temple, in London, where he had shut himself up, and there presented their claims. John threatened, and required of them to assure him, under their hands and seals, that they would never again have the insolence to make such a demand; three only were found base enough to comply, viz.: the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl *of Chester,* and Lord William Brewer.

Finding them obstinate, the king gave, as his sureties, to furnish a favorable answer at Easter, the primate, the Bishop of Ely, and the Earl of Pembroke. Knowing that the bishops were the portion which had most influence, the insincere monarch used every effort, during the respite thus obtained, to detach them from the confederation. On the 15th of January, by a charter, he divested himself as of rights of several usurped powers which he and his predecessors had assumed in ecclesiastical concerns. He also applied to the Pope to aid him. He made a public vow to wage war against the infidel oppressors of the suffering Christians in Greece and Asia, and claimed, as a crusader, the aid of the Church, for the preservation of his rights, whilst he should be engaged in preparing for and prosecuting so sacred an undertaking. Having thus hypocritically flung the mantle of religion over his iniquity, he, on the 2d of February, ordered the sheriffs of the several counties to assemble their freemen, and cause them to swear the oath of allegiance to him. On the 19th of March, the primate, Langton, received a letter from the Pope, complaining of the injustice of refusing to John the rights which had been peaceably possessed by his brother Richard and by his father Henry, charging the archbishop with seditiously encouraging the subjects against their monarch, and commanding him to exert his authority for their reconciliation. The barons received another letter from the Pope, in which he censured them for demanding violently as a right what they might have asked as a favor. He promised that if they behaved with humility and moderation, he would intercede for them, and obtain from the king any reasonable boon. He then annuls the proceedings of the confederation, and under penalty of excommunication, forbids any further confederacy. Thus John thought himself secure from his Popish subjects. Easter came.

But the English Papists of 1215 knew their rights just as well as did the American Congress of all religions in 1775. The bishops and the barons met. No excommuni-

cations could destroy their inalienable rights. Neither a Pope nor a general council could dictate to the British barons nor to the American people the terms of the compact between them and their temporal governments. Before a Pope was commissioned, before a general council was assembled, the God of nature regulated the rights of man in the social and civil state. The commission of St. Peter gave him no authority to regulate the manner in which kingdoms should be governed.

Pandulf, the Pope's legate, and the Bishop of Exeter, contended that the primate was bound by the Pope's order to excommunicate the barons. The archbishop replied, that the king had brought in foreign troops to oppress his people, and unless they were forthwith removed, he would excommunicate them; and that to the utmost of his power he would oppose the oppression of the liberties of England. Runnymede exhibited the value of the papal interference with Roman Catholics who still were faithful to the head of their Church, but who acknowledged in him no right to interfere in their temporal government. At one side was the king, with the Pope's legate, eight bishops who had been drawn away by the means which I stated, and fifteen gentlemen. On the other side stood Fitzwalter, "the general of the army of God and of the holy Church," accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the rest of the English bishops, several abbots, and the host of the British nobility, together with their knights and esquires; and the monarch was obliged to submit.

I shall not dwell upon the resistance of the Roman Catholic bishops and barons to the repeated attempts made by the king, with the aid of the Pope, to annul the Great Charter which was thus obtained. All these, and a thousand other facts in history, plainly prove the distinction between spiritual obedience and temporal allegiance. The British Catholics gave the latter to Elizabeth, a Protestant princess, when she was excommunicated by the Pope, yet she hanged them for paying him spiritual obedience.

Thus it is clear, that a Roman Catholic might be a ful subject of a Protestant government, at the same that he is a faithful subject of the Pope, as my opp are pleased to express themselves.

Were the Canadians so unfaithful to their Pro King George, as to make it safe for our militia ca to cross the line into their territory? Why did ou tains refuse to go over? They knew the Canadians faithful Roman Catholics. Were the Canadian Papist faithful to the persecuting British Protestant governm 1775? Had the Pope's interference any influence up Popish barons of England, who opposed the Papist W Wallace? Had it any influence upon the Popish adh of the Papist Bruce? What influence had it upo Irish chieftains, all Papists, who remonstrated with John, upon the misconduct of King Edward II, of En and who told His Holiness that they recognized no in him or in the King of England, to regulate their poral government? My opponents should study h before they presume to lay down as correct prin assumptions which all history proves to be false.

I am aware, that, for its own purposes, the E Church and State has corrupted history; but it is on light and hasty and prejudiced reader, that can be im upon by the deceptive mass of muddy falsehood. Very application of the rules of criticism is necessary to the collection. King Henry VIII knew the histo King John and Primate Langton, and of Henry II, Primate Becket, and of many other kings and bis and as he had many delicate affairs to manage, he th an obsequious man, like the complying Thomas Cra would do well as a nominal primate, whilst he could well be Pope. In this he was not impolitic; he was at full liberty to plunder, and to marry, and to b and to burn, as he thought proper; and from that d this, the English Church, with one exception, has the most sleek, well-fed, obsequious, courtly Chur

the world; that troublesome quality of independence is unknown; all is perfect harmony.

I have no doubt my opponents would like to see such another gentleman-like system in America; but I promise them, with God's help, they never will. The people here have too much good sense to permit the President, or even the Senate, to add the influence of their Church or mine or any other to the power of the executive. When the people shall be guilty of this folly, their liberties are lost, and they deserve their bondage.

DISPENSATION.

I.

A WRITER for the press asserts, that "it is a doctrin of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Pope had th power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths." Th proposition which he contradicts is reducible to this "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with th obligations of oaths." His proposition then must b reducible to the contradictory: "Catholics do believe th Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths." Hi proofs are: "Catholic doctrine is always the same. Bu some Popes did dispense with certain oaths. Therefo Catholics believe the Pope can dispense with the obligatio of oaths." Now I put it to the candor of the writer: l his argument good? How many of the rules of syllogism which are but the maxims of right reason, does it violate

First, suppose I allow all his facts to be true, in th sense which he wishes to have conveyed by them, wha do those facts prove? They prove that Gregory VI Innocent III, Innocent IV, Clement VI, Pius V, an Sixtus V did absolve the subjects of certain princes fro their allegiance. Here, then, we have only the acts of si Popes, and by those acts no Catholic is bound. Th writer might as well have produced the criminal acts c six Popes, who could be named, and conclude from tho acts that Catholics believe it lawful for the Pope an people to commit sins. I beg to inform him, that th Roman Catholic doctrine is not to be learned from th acts of the Popes, as the doctrines of the Church c England is not to be learned from the acts of Kin Charles II, or King George IV, or the Bishop of Cloghe The first fault of his argument then was, attempting

ve doctrine by individual acts. Even those persons
› believe the Pope to be infallible, for there are such
ividuals, though the Roman Catholic Church does not
uire this belief,[1] draw a very palpable distinction between
doctrinal decision of the Pope and his private or even
public acts. Though they will receive solemn decisions
doctrine as rules for belief, they will condemn several
the papal acts.

The next fault of the argument is, that from particular
:mises he draws a general conclusion. We have all those
ts and the others which are adduced of only one
ıcription, oaths of allegiance to sovereigns. Now, though
should be true that the Pope claimed a right of
solving from an oath of allegiance to a sovereign, it
es not follow that he claimed the same right with
ıpect to every other oath. Hence, supposing all the facts
›ved, the conclusion would only come to this: "It is
fact that some Popes claimed a right to dispense the
bjects of some monarchs from their observance of their
th of allegiance." This conclusion is amply proved. But
does not thence follow, that "it is believed by Catho-
s that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of
:hs generally." There might be a special ground for
ir power of absolving from oaths of allegiance, and
l no ground for their absolving from other oaths.
ere might also be special grounds upon which they had
s power with respect to some nations, which did not
ɛend to other nations. This is only to be known by
ımination of facts.

Now let us examine the facts, to discover the principle
the papal acts. They have regard to the Emperors of
rmany, to King Henry VIII of England, and to his
ughter Elizabeth, and to Henry, King of Navarre.
rhaps in each of those cases we would find some
ɛcial ground of justification for the interference. Surely

[1] It is now, though it was not then, a dogma of the Church that the Pope is infallible when speaking *ex cathedra*.

the writer will not say that a monarch might not have forfeited the claim of allegiance, and his subjects be therefore justly absolved from their oaths to him. The writer will not, I trust, in his zeal for our respectable President, forget the grounds of Mr. Monroe's title to our support.[1] Was not the ground of Mr. Monroe's authority a dispensation given to the inhabitants of the former British Colonies from observing an oath? Did not General Washington take an oath of allegiance to King George III, of England, and to his heirs and successors? Did not Mr. Monroe himself take this oath? Did not some of the most respectable Episcopal clergy of the Union take this oath, and also take another oath in contradiction thereto? Have they not renounced that allegiance, waged war upon that king, put his subjects to death, annoyed his faithful servants, taken his ships, confiscated his property, and done every act of hostility, notwithstanding that oath? Have not those venerable clergymen, who swore that his Majesty was the visible head on earth of the Church, renounced that headship, and separated themselves from his Majesty's jurisdiction, taken his name from their liturgies, and prayed for the success of his declared enemies? And shall we say that all the fathers of the Church and State in America were perjurers who violated their oaths? Shall we say that Mr. Monroe is but the leader of a band of powerful and organized rebels, who have violated their solemn oaths?

Look to the period of the British Revolution of 1688. Did not the bishops, and the peers, and the clergy, and the laity of England swear allegiance to James II, and afterwards rise up to oppose him and forswear that allegiance, and swear allegiance to William III, who fought against James II?. Were they perjurers? Did they teach the doctrine of dispensing with oaths?

The explanation in these cases is simple. They were dispensed from the oaths by the misconduct of those to whom the oaths were taken, and there was in the oath

[1] Monroe was then President.

that implied condition which must always subsist between the governor and the governed,—justice and protection on the one side, and obedience on the other. The convention in England, and the convention in America, declared the fact of the governor having violated the contract, and thereby forfeited the right which he had, and thus absolved the people from the moral bond or obligation of the oath, which subsisted until that declaration was made; and thus the convention did in England and in America exactly what the Pope did in the case of Germany, and no more. This expresses the principle, so far as the laity are concerned, or so far as regards temporal allegiance. I shall not presume to insult the clergymen by explaining how the ecclesiastical bond was broken. They are more competent to the fulfilling of that task than I am. I do not pretend even to surmise the grounds for rejecting his Majesty's ecclesiastical authority, as I do not know George III to have been charged with any faults against the Church.

All that is necessary, I presume, as far as relates to Germany, is that I should now show that the Pope had, as regarded the emperors, the same power that the convention had in England; and I shall thus have answered that part of the case so as to satisfy the writer.

I could wish he had extended his reading a little beyond Dr. Barrow and Bishop Burnet, who had both interested motives for publishing only a part and not the whole of the facts in those several cases; and I suppose he has read more, and only needs to be reminded of some facts which have probably escaped his memory. I shall not now dwell upon them.

In the first place, he knows that the title of Emperor of the West became extinct in 476; the last who held the shadow of that dignity being Romulus Augustulus, Odoacer the Goth having assumed the reins of government as King of Italy. But in the year 800, the title of the Emperor of the Romans was created by Pope Leo III,

who, upon Christmas day in that year, conferred it upon Charlemagne in the city of Rome. By the same authority his descendants held the same title. But upon the extinction of the Carlovingian race, in the commencement of the 10th century, after the following emperors of that line had reigned, viz., Lewis the Pious, Lothaire, Lewis II, Charles II, Lewis the Stammerer, Charles the Fat, Arnulph, and Lewis IV, otherwise Lewis the Infant, Conrad, Duke of Franconia and Hesse, was in 912 elected by the German princes to the government of that part of the empire, but he was never recognized as emperor. Upon his recommendation, Henry, Duke of Saxony, was chosen in his stead, when he died in 919. He is generally known by the appellation of Henry the Fowler. He reconciled all parties to his interest, but died on his way to Rome to be crowned emperor, in 936, leaving his eldest son, Otho I, his successor. Otho was not crowned in Rome until 963, and is thus recognized as, properly speaking, the first Emperor of Germany.

One part of the contract between the Pope and the emperor was, that the latter should preserve to the former his temporal possessions against the incursions of the petty and lawless chieftains by whom he was surrounded and sometimes annoyed; and another was, that the emperor would preserve to all the Churches, and especially to that of Rome, all their rights, privileges, and immunities. If he failed in the discharge of these duties, he consented to forfeit all title to the empire.

Previous to the death of Otho III, in the year 1000, he and Pope Gregory V, who was a German and a relative of his, had reduced the number of electors of the emperors to seven princes of Germany, reserving to the Pope the power of confirming the election, without which it would be invalid, and also the right of crowning the person so elected and confirmed.

Thus we perceive, that in the beginning of the eleventh century, by the creation of the empire, by the custom of the

and by special diplomatic regulations, the Pope had ome possessed of the right of declaring who was Emperor Germany, and of declaring when he ceased to have a claim n the allegiance of his vassals, by having violated the ditions of his compact: and thus Pope Gregory VII, the law of nations, had the very same rights in rela- to the Emperor of Germany, that the British and erican conventions had with respect to James II and rge III. The German electors had frequently declared ıry's violation of their rights, and had taken up arms inst him; so too did the person who was constitu- ally appointed to decide by confirmation or otherwise. ıs, in the very document which the writer quotes, the e, Gregory VII, states the ground of his deposing g Henry, who was not yet emperor, to be the viola- of this contract. One of the grounds only out of ıy is quoted by the writer, and that but the sum of pecial enumeration. "Who too boldly and rashly hath hands on Thy Church." Like the Declaration of ependence, and every other State document, it carries reason of its proceedings in the tenor of its state- ıts, which are numerous.

We see, therefore, upon several titles, the Pope had ight to interfere in the election and confirmation, and judge whether allegiance was or was not due to the mants of the imperial crown. Not by divine right, by human and temporary institution; and his exer- of this right is no part of the Roman Catholic gion.

This Henry IV, properly speaking, he was Henry III, as we have seen, Henry the Fowler was not emperor, some qualities which were to be found in another of same name. We do not take his character from the e's friends, but from the Pope's avowed enemies and eulogists of Henry, when it was possible to eulogize ; the compilers of the "Universal History," printed London, 1782. We could give it in far worse colors

by quoting from more impartial authors; however, let us hear his friends. They state that one of his first acts, upon coming of age, was to impose taxes which were not usual. If I recollect right, one passage of the Declaration of American Independence charged George III, "for imposing taxes upon us without our consent." The Germans "murmured and traversed his design on pretence of defending their liberty, which, they affirmed, he intended to invade." Really one would think these good editors were lecturing the founders of American liberty, and defending the King of England. "They were besides irritated against him on account of his debauches, and encouraged to rebellion by Pope Alexander II, who at the earnest solicitation of Hildebrand, his successor and confidant, actually summoned the emperor to Rome to give an account of his loose life and to answer the charge of having exposed the investiture of benefices to sale."

We have before seen that by the constitution of the German empire, he could not be recognized as emperor nor claim allegiance, until he had been elected, confirmed, and crowned; as yet he was neither validly elected, confirmed, nor crowned, therefore there was no allegiance due to him as emperor. We have also seen that had he been emperor, he violated the liberties of the people by arbitrary taxation, which was unconstitutioual, and by simony, which was against the rights of the Church, he violated the contract with the Pope. Thus he was not legally emperor, and had he been legally invested, he had exposed himself legally to the loss of the title and its appendages, as fully as George III did to the loss of America.

His States presented him with a list of grievances, and concluded with assuring him that he should be respected, obeyed, and supported with their lives and fortunes, provided he would comply with those requests, but should he persist in his design to oppress them, they were resolved to defend themselves against violence and despotic power; and they did take up arms against him for his misconduct.

In all this we still find a strong resemblance to the conduct of the founders of American freedom, who in truth were the descendants of the ancestors of those brave Saxons, who thus proved that their veins still contained blood of the same nature as that which glowed in the hearts of the founders of British liberty. They were sprung from the same fathers; and it must be a gratification to the American of this day to perceive that those Popes, whom interested historians misrepresented as the despots of the dark ages, were in truth the allies of the only people who cherished freedom, and who aided that people in preserving it against the attempts of powerful despots. It must also be to them a most gratifying reflection, that the very principles for which those Popes contended, and to preserve which they endured such persecution, are the same which, brought from Saxony through Britain, have made America great and happy.

Let us now hear the chief causes of Henry's dislike to Rome. Besides the opposition to his despotic schemes, "his incontinence was so great that he seldom or never set his eyes upon a beautiful young woman without endeavoring to sacrifice her virtue to his appetite. The vigilance of his wife being an obstruction to his amours, he conceived an unjust antipathy to that unfortunate princess, and even engaged one of his courtiers to undermine her chastity, that he might have a pretext for obtaining a divorce; but her conduct was so blameless and discreet, that his design miscarried, and he in vain solicited the Pope to dissolve the marriage."

He even plotted the assassination of the principal nobility opposed to his election, but finding his plans frustrated, and the electors assembled at Mentz to choose an emperor, he hypocritically made declarations of sorrow, and procured their votes; he obtained the concurrence of Gregory VII by similar means, having acknowledged himself guilty of simony and debauchery, and promising amendment and praying for absolution, which was granted upon his apparent contrition and his solemn oath of future good conduct.

Gregory soon finding his conduct worse than ever, sent to admonish him, that unless he observed his promise, and governed with justice, and desisted from destroying religion by flagrant simony, he should proceed to depose him. Henry returned for answer, that the Pope was his vassal, that Gregory had entered into the Popedom without having been appointed by him and that he now deposed him from that Popery. Gregory excommunicated the emperor, who went to Italy, and did public penance, and was absolved by the Pope on the 28th of January, 1078, upon swearing that he would not molest the Pope in future.

The emperor had scarcely departed, after this hypocritical submission, when he became worse than ever, and openly declared his hostility to the Pope, and his determination to injure that Church which he had so often sworn to protect; whereupon Gregory, as he was constitutionally warranted to do, pronounced him deposed from the place which he had so unworthily filled, and the subjects of the empire freed from allegiance to him.

II.

I have shown that the German case did not establish the principle that the Pope has a right to dispense from all oaths. I stated the declaration of Pope Urban II regarding the case of Henry of Germany; and though Dr. Barrow, or his copyist, I cannot say which, brings forward the proposition in general terms, "subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince who opposes God and His saints, and violates their precepts;" yet this apparently universal assertion is really but a particular proposition, the meaning of which, and the application of which, is actually restrained by the circumstances to the particular case of Germany, which was that under consideration.

One of the great causes of complaint which Catholics always have had against their opponents is, that they misrepresent the tenets of the Catholics. Thus they seldom

attack the real doctrines of the Catholic Church. There is no species of misrepresentation worse than concealing part of the truth, and giving statements which, though true in themselves, yet stripped of their circumstances, convey to the mind wrong impressions. It is the worst sort of deceit. I shall illustrate this by an example which is intelligible to the people of the South.

Suppose a traveler published to the world that in Carolina he was present when a number of men were tried for their lives by a regular constitutional court, and that the court impanelled no jury, and declared no jury was allowed by the State, and that the court further declared that the witnesses need not be confronted with the prisoners. Such a writer would convey to the world a false impression, though he would have stated nothing but what was strictly true. And he would have done exactly what was done by the person who extracted the declaration of Urban II; he would have only concealed the most material fact which was the key to the full and satisfactory explanation of the entire; and the publication of which would show that so far from this being the general law, it was an exception, viz., the case of negro slave conspirators.

If the declaration of Urban II were a general proposition of Catholic doctrine, its meaning would be "that no allegiance was due to a Christian prince who violated the precepts of God." The writer who could prove this to have been defined as faith in the Catholic Church, would indeed have for ever put down the doctrine of infallibility, and proved the whole of our system to be erroneous, for the Catholic Church condemned this doctrine as heretical when it was taught by Wickliffe and Huss, and the German boors, and some of the Puritans of England and Scotland. We shall perhaps soon be informed that it was from Urban II the doctrine was learned by John Knox and his brethren.

Henry IV was either the person whom I have described as Henry III of Germany; if so, the acts of Paschal II are explained exactly as those of Gregory and Urban have

been. What I think more probable is that he was the son who is by some called Henry V, who was, if possible, still worse than his father, a vile hypocrite, a flagitious, bloody tyrant, who usurped the empire in a manner which exhibited a complication of irregularities; and Paschal only performed his duty as principal elector and defender of the rights of the Roman empire by depriving such a monster of the sway which he held.

The next case is that of Innocent III and Otho IV. Of course the principle of solution being known, the difficulty vanishes. The acts of any Pope, with respect to his treaties with nations or sovereigns, are no part of the Roman Catholic religion; neither are Roman Catholics obliged to believe, that in making those treaties, or observing or departing from them, the Pope acted properly and religiously. For his acts he is to be judged by the Lord, and it is impossible for us, at this moment, to pass judgment upon cases with all the circumstances of which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

But a new feature is here exhibited. A general council, which was held at Rome, ordained, that if "a temporal lord being required and admonished by the Church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should, by the metropolitan and the other provincial bishops, be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that, if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the Pope, that he might, from that time, denounce the subjects absolved from the fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized by Catholics." Thus it is insinuated, that as this was a general council, this declaration must be a part of our doctrine.

There are here two mistakes. The first of doctrine, the second of fact. The Catholic Church looks upon a general council to be infallible in declaring and defending what are the doctrines of faith, which have been revealed; and in declaring and defending principles of morality founded upon reason and revelation, and teaches that all her children are

bound to receive those decisions, and are bound to obey the regulations of ecclesiastical discipline, which are made for the whole Church in those councils. She recognizes in the council no farther power.

Now, this canon of the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III, which is the third of the 70 canons of that Church, is not a decision concerning a doctrine of faith, is not a decision of a principle of morality, is not a regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, and therefore is no part of the Roman Catholic religion, neither has it ever been considered as such. Thus it is, to say the least, a great mistake of our doctrine to assert that this is a portion of our religion; and assuming this mistake as a principle, all the arguments drawn from it must be inapplicable.

The mistake of fact is the supposition that this council consisted merely of bishops and other churchmen, and that this canon was made by mere ecclesiastical authority.

In the first place, the two emperors and several other monarchs sent their ambassadors to the council, several of the archbishops and bishops were princes of extensive territories, and many proxies for other princes attended, so that the assembly consisted of two descriptions of persons, having separate and distinct objects, though many of the members had votes on each subject. The bishops as pastors only drew up and regulated the decisions of faith, morality, and discipline, and the temporal powers or congress of princes made regulations for temporal government; and as the object of this assembly was twofold, the canons or laws are also twofold; and each referable to the proper source of authority, as its nature is either ecclesiastical or temporal, and a few of them are mixed. Now, this third canon is of the latter sort, and it is a mixed law concurred in by both authorities. The object was the clearing of the territories of "heretical filth;" and any person who is at all acquainted with the history of the time, and has the smallest share of candor, must allow that the very existence of society required measures of extraordinary

severity to preserve a considerable part of Europe from the unnatural consequences of Manichaism, as well as from the principles of Lollardism. The principles of both those sects were what was specially described as "heretical filth," and princes, as well as prelates, found it necessary to root them out. The law was rather a temporal than an ecclesiastical canon; and as it was inserted amongst the ecclesiastical laws, in consequence first of its treating of heresy, and next of ecclesiastical persons, this circumstance of its insertion caused the misrepresentation of the council having usurped a right to depose princes.

Now I come to consider the nature of this law. It has several enactments. 1. It regulates that the punishment of condemning heretics must be left to the secular powers. This does not look like arrogating it to the Church. The Church may declare the fact of heresy as a jury does in its verdict; this is all its power in a temporal point of view—the mere simple declaration of the fact. 2. If the heretics be clergymen, they shall be first degraded from their orders, and their property confiscated to the churches whence it was derived. So far it was an act of the Council of Bishops. 3. The property of lay heretics was confiscated to the State. This was an enactment of the congress. 4. If the temporal lord (i. e., a feudatory), being required by the Church, did not clear his territory of heretical filth, he was to be excommunicated. This was ecclesiastical. 5. If he remained a year negligent, he was to be reported to the Pope, who was to declare, that by his neglect he forfeited all right to allegiance, etc. *Quo jure?* Was it by his spiritual authority? By no means—but by the consent of the congress which made and sanctioned this enactment. It was a new power granted to the Pope by States, whose representatives made the law. Thus it was no more a usurpation of the Pope to exercise this newly acquired right in all cases in which those States might have been subsequently involved, than it would be a usurpation for the President of the United States to use

the power given to him by the Congress of those States within their several territories; and in fact the whole of Christendom was met in that congress by its representatives, and freely gave its president, the Pope, this power. 6. This was a clause by the same authority reserving the rights of seignory of the lords paramount or chief emperors or kings, notwithstanding the possible forfeiture by the puisne baron, prince, vassal, or holder under a fief tenure. 7. By the same authority, this clause extended the penalties to chieftains and lords exempt, who held not in fief but in chief. All those enactments were made by the congress upon subjects under their power, but over which the Pope, by his spiritual jurisdiction, had no authority; but by this law he was invested with power, and might lawfully absolve the subjects of those States from their oaths of fealty, when the Church found the facts of heresy and negligence. I do not here mean to enter upon the examination of the propriety or impropriety of the law; but we have ascertained the fact, that in this year the law was made and the power conferred, and therefore it might by the law of nations be used, and its use was no usurpation on the part of the executive officer. The remaining enactments of the third canon are merely ecclesiastical regarding preachers.

The next fact produced is that of Pope Innocent IV declaring Frederick II to be his vassal; and in his general Council of Lyons denouncing sentence of deprivation against him in a certain form of words. I do not suppose the form is of much account if he had a right to make this assertion and to pronounce this deprivation.

The Popes did obtain and hold for a considerable time the principality of Sicily, and the usual acknowledgments were made to them as chiefs and sovereigns thereof. Frederick had only a small portion of Germany, besides the Duchy of Swabia, together with Naples and Sicily, for his hereditary dominions. These latter were fiefs of the Holy See, not in virtue of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, but of his temporal power, and Frederick was his

vassal for those territories. At his coronation as Emperor of Germany by Honorius III he swore to defend the possessions of the Holy See, including the fiefs of the Countess Matilda, in Fondi, and to go into Asia, upon the requisition of the Pope, to aid the crusaders. He ravaged the possessions of the Holy See several times, usurped the fiefs of Fondi, evaded more than once his pledge regarding the crusades, excited civil wars in the States of the Church, let Saracens loose upon Italy, was rejected by the German electors, is stated by his friends to have been unprincipled, ambitious, violent, and a debauchee; not only a heretic, but an atheist, and openly impious. I leave the writer then to determine upon how many grounds, according to the principles of civil polity, Frederick lost his claim to the crown of Germany; and upon how many valid grounds of the law of nations, by the principles of the age, and by how many special and positive laws, the Pope was warranted in deposing him by any form of words he might think proper. Still the Roman Catholic religion is no part of this, nor is this any part of the Roman Catholic religion. What in the name of common sense has all this to do with Mr. Monroe and Pope Pius VII?

The writer not having vouchsafed to give us a reference to the decree of Pope Boniface VIII, which he says is found in the canon law, I am not able to examine the topic as I would wish. I suppose the words are qu ted correctly. I then shall take his proposition. "We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." The proposition in one sense is true—in another it is false. Now, the writer who thinks well of a Church built on "the Rock of Ages," must acknowledge that it is necessary for every human creature to be subject to that power to which Christ made it subject. Roman Catholics do believe: 1. That Christ placed every human creature under the spiritual charge of His Apostles. 2. That the head of those Apostles was St. Peter. 3. That his

ıccessor, who is also head of all the other successors of e other Apostles is the Roman Pontiff, and therefore they ·lieve it to be necessary for every human creature, by hrist's ordinance, to be subject in spiritual things to the oman Pontiff. In this sense the proposition is true. But hat then? Therefore, the Pope can dispense with the ›ligations of oaths, contracts, etc. Now I shall put a se. There is in the city of New York a respectable rotestant bishop. Some persons are subject to his spiritual risdiction. Therefore, this respectable gentleman can dis-ense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, etc. The ight Rev. Dr. Hobart would protest against such a con-usion as unwarranted by common sense, and upon the me principle he would assure the writer that such sup-›sed conclusions as Dr. Barrow's would be equally diculous. "But the Pope says the temporal power must ; subject to the spiritual power." I too say, if there be ıestions of spiritual things, it must most undoubtedly. To llow up my first comparison, I have no doubt but if overnor Clinton be one of Dr. Hobart's flock, the right verend gentleman claims just as much jurisdiction over the ›vernor as if Mr. Clinton were merely a private citizen; r it happens, that in America the chief ruler has lost at commission of being "head on earth of the Church," hich was founded by King Henry VIII in England. ence in England, George IV is head of the Church, but America no temporal ruler is head of the Church. But e Popes claim as head of the Church only that right hich Dr. Hobart claims of governing spiritually the holder the civil sword, equally as the victim upon whom that ·ord is used. So that in this respect neither Pope Boni-ɔe VIII nor Pope Leo X, nor the Lateran Council ıimed more for the spiritual power in the proper sense the proposition than good Protestants also claim. But the Pope meant to say that the spiritual power had thority to regulate temporal concerns by virtue of its iritual commission, the position is untrue, and is no rt of the Roman Catholic religion.

"Pope Clement V declared, in the great Synod of Vienna (it ought to be the General Council of Vienne), that the emperor was subject to him." If the Pope was head of the Church, and the emperor a member of that Church, there can be no doubt but the member was subject to the head. "Therefore, the 'Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts and agreements.'" From such bad logic, good Lord preserve us! Oh, no. Remember the rule of all reasoning. "The premises should clearly contain the conclusion." Governing the Church, and dispensing with oaths, etc., are two very different things. "Pope Clement VI pretended to depose the Emperor Lewis IV." It would have been shorter to have written: "Clement VI deposed Lewis IV." The facts are, Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, after having had a minority of the suffrages of the electors, was refused confirmation by Pope John XXII, who confirmed Frederick, that had been elected by the majority. But Lewis, being a better soldier, was successful, and not only triumphed over the Emperor Frederick, but shut him up in prison, and then having extorted from the electors an assent to his title, he went to Rome and procured some bishops to crown him as emperor, notwithstanding the Pope's opposition. Lewis then assuming the spiritual as well as temporal sword, condemned the Pope, as an heretic, excommunicated him, and proceeded to the formality of deposing him and establishing another in his stead. Meeting with a series of disasters, he, in 1330, sought pardon and reconciliation with the Pope, which was refused so long as he continued his usurpation. John dying in 1334, was succeeded by Benedict XII, who, for the same reasons, adhered to the same line of conduct as his predecessor. In 1342 Benedict was succeeded by Clement VI, and for the same reasons Clement declared Lewis an usurper, and that he never was lawful Emperor of Germany, but merely Duke of Bavaria. Lewis dying in 1346, put an end to the contest, and *Charles* IV of Bohemia succeeded by the regular form of

the Germanic constitution. Whether Clement's conduct in the discharge of his duty as chief elector of the Empire of the West, was correct or incorrect, has no connection whatever with the Roman Catholic religion nor with Mr. Monroe's title to the Presidency of the United States, and the duty of its citizens, of all religions, to support him in the discharge of his functions; and therefore I humbly and respectfully conceive, that no one of the German cases, nor the whole put together, will prove that it is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, that "the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts and agreements." I shall examine the other cases in succession.

III.

The writer quotes two of these, that of the Pope against King Henry VIII and that against Elizabeth. Now, let us examine the cases by the principle. The proposition which I laid down was: "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." Of course I meant, that it was not the doctrine of Roman Catholics that the Pope, by his spiritual authority, could dispense with these moral obligations upon conscience. The writer means to prove, that "Catholics believed that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." Meaning, of course, that by his spiritual authority, Catholics did believe His Holiness could discharge them from the moral obligations thus incurred. To prove this, he adduces a fact, that the Pope dispensed the subjects of King Henry VIII of England from the moral obligation of their oath of allegiance. I answer, that, admitting the fact, the conclusion is not correct, because the Pope may absolve the people and yet the Pope may know he is doing wrong. The Pope may dispense with the obligations, and think he has the power, and the people still know that he has not the power, and not believe the dispensation good. And there is a third case. The Pope might, as in the German cases,

know that he had the power, and the people, knowing that he had, believe themselves dispensed with, and yet the power be in the Pope, not as head of the Church, but by virtue of his authority, in consequence of a contract, or upon some other ground; so that merely proving that the Pope declared the people dispensed from the oath, proves nothing.

I unhesitatingly assert, that by the old feudal system the Pope had the power, not as head of the Church, but upon three or four grounds. I do not mean to assert that the acts which I am about to recite were proper or becoming, but that they did take place. In the first place, Henry was King of Ireland, by virtue of a bull of a Pope. Adrian IV, at the request of Henry II, gave him a bull to conquer and to govern Ireland.[1] Though we consider that bull worth just as much as a tailor might give for the old parchment, and worth no more, yet this was the title upon which the Kings of England claimed the sovereignty of Ireland, and by virtue of which the orators and ambassadors of the British monarchs claimed, and were allowed in the general councils, a precedence to which they would not otherwise be entitled; the kingdom of Ireland being a much more ancient sovereignty than most others. Upon this ground the Pope had his first claim; if he could give, he could deprive.

In the second place, John, King of England, shamefully made his kingdom a fief of the Holy See.[2] He ought not to have done so, but the fact is he did; and the Kings of England paid tribute to Rome after this, as vassals of the Holy See. The Pope then had a claim to interfere as liege lord, by his title of lord paramount, and not by his title as head of the Church.

Again. The ambassadors of England were parties to the agreement of the potentates at the Council of Lateran, in 1215, that any prince who refused to clear his dominions

[1] The authenticity of this bull is doubted now.

[2] As a matter of fact, Henry II had already made England a fief of the Holy See.

of heresy within twelve months, should be declared deposed by the Pope; and this canon was still strongly supported in England.

Another ground was, that Henry himself did accept the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope, for his works against Luther. Thus the Pope had several grounds or pretexts for interfering with the government of Henry VIII, not one of which concerns Mr. Monroe. The Pope did not interfere in the deposition of the king merely by spiritual power, because this was no prerogative of St. Peter, but he interferred by virtue of the concessions of English kings and of their agreement, and that of their ambassadors, and by reason of the custom of the age.

But the true question is not, whether the Pope believed he had power to depose the king, or attempt to depose him, without having the power, but whether it be a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Pope has the power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements. I freely concede to the writer that Popes did sometimes assume power which they really had not by law or by right; but the assumption of a Pope is not the doctrine of the Church. I will allow, that, although by the custom of the age, the Pope had many apparent plausible titles for interference in the temporal government of England, upon the grounds above stated, he had by no means the same right which his predecessors had in the German cases; for the crown of England was, and ought to be, independent of the Bishop of Rome; and Adrian had no right or power to grant Ireland to Henry II, nor had John any power to make his dominions a fief of the Holy See. All these transactions were deordinate, and arose from the unwarranted interference of the laity in ecclesiastical concerns, which improper conduct produced the reaction of the churchmen meddling in temporal affairs, and the subsequent blending of Church and State together throughout Europe.

Now, let us see the fact, for the purpose of ascertaining the Catholic doctrine. Did the British people consider

themselves freed from their allegiance? And was it the doctrine of the Church, that they were absolved? These two questions are the true test to solve the difficulty. I unhesitatingly answer, the people continued in their allegiance to Henry, notwithstanding the absolution; and these people at the time were principally Catholics. Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, was beheaded for denying the king's supremacy: that is, for not changing his religion, to conform to the king's humor; yet he never considered himself absolved from his allegiance. I, in like manner, assert, that neither Mr. Monroe, nor the Congress of the United States, nor the Governor of South Carolina, nor the Houses of Assembly of the State, have any authority to require of us to change our religion; but, that any attempt of theirs to interfere would be a tyrannical usurpation; and I also assert, that we owe allegiance to them, from which neither the Pope nor the whole Church could absolve us. Bishop Fisher was put to death for not deserting the Roman Catholic faith; yet he never considered himself, or any other Roman Catholic, freed from allegiance to the King of England, who, *de jure* and *de facto*, was Henry VIII; nor could he constitutionally, without leave of his parliament, give the Pope power to depose him, or to absolve his subjects from their allegiance.

In the first place, Mr. Hume informs us, that, although the censures were passed, they were never openly denounced, that is, published. Secondly. It is no part of the Catholic doctrine that the Pope, as head of the Church, has power to depose kings, though he has power to excommunicate or place them under spiritual censures. Thirdly. The fact is that frequently the Popes received temporal authority, by which they could lawfully depose particular monarchs, and absolve their subjects from allegiance in particular cases. Fourthly. Some Popes did endeavor to make this special concession a general law. Fifthly. Some Popes and their flatterers did endeavor to argue, that what was thus granted as a favor, or human concession, was an inherent right of

ıe Holy See. Sixthly. But this was never the doctrine of he Church. And, seventhly. In several places, where the Popes did unwarrantably attempt to exercise this power, the Roman Catholics could resist them, and were not therefore considered less faithful members of the Church.

If it were a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of the oath of ıllegiance to Henry VIII, when he did command the Catholics to withdraw their allegiance, they would have done so; 'et we do not find they did withdraw it. Bishops, priests, nd laity still adhered to him as their temporal sovereign, 'ut they did not follow him in his religious aberrations, and hey were still members of the Church. The English nobility 'ere frequently and justly indignant, in those times, when hey were Catholics, at the attempts made to assert a right of he Bishop of Rome to interfere in the temporal concerns of he nation. And now, although their sovereign was a rebel o the Church, they could see no ground for the assumption f His Holiness to depose their king and to absolve his subects from their allegiance; therefore, they did not believe hat the Pope could dispense in oaths, contracts, and agreements.

The case of Elizabeth is stronger than that of Henry. ihe was not constitutionally Queen of England, except by the hoice and consent of the people, for she was not the legitiıate daughter of Henry. Elizabeth was born of a woman ho lived with Henry during the lifetime of his lawful wife. The Roman Pontiff, who did not acknowledge the validity f her mother's marriage, could not allow the legitimacy of ıer birth; and, down to that moment when Henry broke ff communion with Rome, every Christian in England had lways acknowledged that Rome was the final and superior ourt of appeals, to decide the validity or invalidity of narriage.

This objection was superadded to those which existed gainst her father, together with a new one arising from ıer organizing a Church in opposition to the See of Rome,

and her persecuting her Catholic subjects, and exciting the Protestants of Catholic States to oppose their rulers.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, her Catholic subjects, the priests whom she had hanged, the nobility whose titles were lost and whose lands were confiscated, all classes of her Catholic subjects declared their allegiance to her, and never were accused of disobeying her, under pretext of the bull. On the contrary, the Catholics of England declared that they could not be absolved by any person from their duty to their sovereign. It is true, that pretended plots and conspiracies were spoken of, for the purpose of leading to the murder of the Queen of Scots. It is true, that Sixtus V issued a bull of deposition, etc.; but Mr. Hume himself gives us his testimony to one fact, the truth of which upsets all those fabrications and proves our proposition.

Speaking of the preparations of Elizabeth to meet the Spanish Armada, he informs us that "the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the Protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against Popery. She took care to revive in the nation this attachment to her own sect and this abhorrence of the opposite." In her speech to her troops in the camp at Tilbury, she styles the Spaniards, on account of their Catholicity, "enemies of her God." Yet the Catholics did not rise up in arms against her. Mr. Hume informs us that Elizabeth knew how they would act, for she knew the principles of their religion. "She would not believe that all her Catholic subjects could be so blinded as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent councils by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party." This writer will see by this the explanation of many of the Popish plots; for an Elizabeth was not always Queen of Protestant England. "She would not confine any considerable number of them." Though to

gratify the wishes of her tolerant subjects of other denominations, she was always obliged to keep some in confinement, and to have some occasionally hanged, embowelled, beheaded and quartered, and sometimes burned. "And the Catholics, sensible of this good usage"—I know not whether this good usage would be greatly relished by our Protestant friends—"generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army." And why, I would ask Mr. Hume, would it be injustice to place trust in those men or to confide authority to them? And yet we are perpetually stunned with the repetition of Protestant liberality and Popish bigotry! How strong is the force of habit! "Some 'Catholics' equipped ships at their own charge and gave the command of them to Protestants." I call upon my friend to produce an instance of persecuted Protestants equipping at their own charge ships to attack a Protestant power at war with their persecutors, and giving the command to Catholics! "Others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbors to the defence of their country."

I could multiply quotations, but it would be useless. Neither Queen Elizabeth nor those Catholics believed that it was a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the Pope had the power of dispensing with the obligation of oaths, contracts, or agreements; and the English cases prove as little as the German.

IV.

The last case of those adduced is that of Henry, King of Navarre. The argument is this: "Sixtus V absolved the persons who had sworn allegiance to Henry, King of Navarre, and to the Prince of Condè, from the obligation of that oath; therefore it is plain that Catholics believe that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." I admit the fact that on September 9, 1585,

Sixtus V did issue a bull excommunicating Henry and the Prince of Condè, and absolving their vassals from allegiance, etc. But I deny the conclusion to be legitimate.

First. Suppose the Pope acted against the doctrine of the Church, his act would be no proof that the doctrine was consonant to this act. To state that the acts of the Popes are no evidence of the doctrine is then by no means incorrect. We find many instances where the Papal acts were in direct opposition to the Catholic doctrine. Did the Catholic Church teach that it was lawful for Alexander VI to commit murder or any of the other crimes which disgrace his character?

Again, we are not to decide from the acts of the Pope, but from the conduct of the people, what were the feelings and the dispositions of the people. Now, if the Catholics who had sworn allegiance to those princes were still faithful, notwithstanding the bull, will it not be more natural to conclude that those Catholics did not believe the Pope had the power of dispensing from the obligation of their oaths? And the fact is, they were faithful; and not only they were so, but the great body of the French Catholics, who were opposed to the King of Navarre at that time, condemned the Papal act, and denied the power of His Holiness to absolve those people from their oaths. Thus the evidence is, that the Roman Catholics, to whom the bull was directed, did not believe the Pope had the power of dispensing with this obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements.

The state of France and Navarre was at this period most unfortunate. The war between the Huguenots and the League was destructive; the family of Guise looked upon the King of Navarre and his adherents as rebels to their liege lord the King of France. The King of Navarre had embraced the Roman Catholic faith and relapsed into Calvinism.

The leaders of the League, the chiefs of the house of Guise, represented to the Pope, that by the feudal regula-

tions, the King of Navarre, having disobeyed her liege lord the King of France, had lost all claim to allegiance from his own vassals; and also, by the regulations and agreements of the princes in several councils, the King of Navarre had lost all title to his crown by having relapsed into heresy: they therefore called upon the Pope to issue his bull, declaring, according to those provisions and the custom of the times, that the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condè had lost their titles, and that their subjects were absolved from their oaths:—not by the spiritual authority of the Church, but by the regulations of the States and princes.

France was Catholic, yet the greatest part of France opposed this bull, as Davila and De Thou inform us. The Parliament was Catholic, yet the whole Parliament waited upon King Henry III, requesting he would order the bull to be torn, and those who solicited the bull to be punished. It was never accepted in France—it was never published. Henry himself appealed against it, and had his appeal filed in Rome. Wraxall, in his history of France, tells us: "The Catholics themselves, far from approving the excommunication, saw with regret and concern that its effects would be more beneficial than injurious to the party against whom it was directed. . . . . Even Sixtus himself . . . . uniformly refused to open the treasury of the Church, or to contribute in any manner to the war declared against the Huguenots."

Thus it is evident, that no Catholic who had sworn allegiance to those princes withdrew this allegiance in consequence of this bull; and it is plain that the Catholics of France and Navarre generally believed that they were not dispensed from the obligation of their oaths, although there were at least plausible grounds for the conduct of the Pope in the circumstances of the case.

Thus, neither the German, the English, nor the French cases will prove that it is the doctrine of the Catholic Church or that Catholics believe that the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, or agreements.

The writer concludes by stating: "The foregoing extracts will, I trust, be deemed sufficient to warrant the 'People in the South' in believing that the Pope does or did claim and exercise the right of 'dispensing with the obligation of oaths.'" Had he given the conclusion thus: "The extracts prove that some Popes did claim and exercise the right of dispensing with oaths of allegiance in particular cases;" I would allow his conclusion was fairly drawn; but this proposition does not contradict mine: "Catholics do not believe the Pope can dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements." The question was, what do Catholics believe, not, what did some Popes claim. Some Popes claimed what Catholics have never conceded to their ambition.

The writer next states: "The Pope is a temporal sovereign, with troops at his command, as well as a bishop directing the spiritual concerns of the Church of Rome. In which capacity he pretends to this dispensing power, I am at a loss to determine." I am at no loss however to inform him, in neither capacity: because he does not pretend to it nor claim it at present. We have seen, by the examination of the German cases, that it was founded upon special concessions, and not upon general right. The Popes did originally claim it upon the ground of those concessions, and the claim was valid. Some of their flatterers sought to make it an essential prerogative of the spiritual governor of the Church, but this claim was evidently unsupported; for, as this writer very properly observes, the Scriptures do not show us that St. Peter received any such commission; and I assure him that neither tradition nor the Mishna testify any such commission; and the Catholic Church has never acknowledged it; and he could have adduced many better texts of Scripture to disprove the claim as of divine right, than that of St. Peter, which proves nothing in the case. Roman Catholics deny it to be one of their doctrines, and still my friend will insist upon their acknowledging it to be one of their doctrines. This indeed is generous, to make us believe it *whether* we will or not.

My object was to show this friend of mine that his prem-
did not contain his conclusions, and that even his conclu-
ı did not contradict my assertion. I believe I have succeeded
the attainment of this object. I now repeat, that it is no
trine of the Roman Catholic Church that the Pope can
ɔense in the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements.
The writer, however, has gone farther. In his zeal he
not only forgotten texts of Scripture, but he has accused
inspired writer of blasphemy. "Pope Innocent IV de-
ed that 'he held the place of Jesus Christ on earth.'
ıhudder whilst I copy this blasphemy." Now it must be
lent to every person, that the Pope claims no more in
ı expression than St. Paul does when he says: "For
are God's coadjutors."[1] "Let a man so account of us
of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the
ɜteries of God."[2] "We are ambassadors for Christ."[3]
[e that heareth you, heareth Me, he that despiseth you,
piseth Me, and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him
t sent Me,"[4] were the words of the Saviour to minor
bassadors. My friend then must either deny this to be
ipture, or deny the Pope to have apostolic power, or
rge the Saviour and his Apostle with the blasphemy.
: when the Saviour was leaving this earth, He left the
ɔstles to hold His place on earth, and therefore it is
blasphemy to say what is correctly the fact. I could
ıind my friend, perhaps, of the time and the place,
ɛn and where, he stated that he held himself the place
Jesus Christ on earth, and yet did not shudder at
ɛmnly and deliberately asserting, if he will so have it,
blasphemy. "Pope Pius V declared, as we have seen,
t he was 'constituted prince over all nations and all
gdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate,
nt, and build.' The bull of Paul III contains the same
laration, and quotes the Prophet Jeremiah for his author-
In looking at this authority, we find it is Jehovah
aking to the house of Israel!"[5]

[1] Cor., c. iii, 9. [2] Ib., c. iv. [3] 2 Cor., c. v, 20. [4] St. Luke, c. x, 16.
[5] Note to Jerem., c. xviii, 7-11.

Now, if a Roman Catholic were to do what has been done here, either by my friend or by Dr. Barrow, he would deserve perpetual execration; but others are so often in the habit of doing what has here been done, that they are not so much to be blamed. In Jeremiah xviii, 7, we read as follows the words of Jehovah: "I will suddenly speak against a nation and against a kingdom, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy it. If that nation against which I have spoken, shall repent of their evil, I also will repent of the evil that I have thought to do against them. And I will suddenly speak of a nation and of a kingdom, to build up and to plant it. If it shall do evil in My sight, that it obey not My voice, I will repent of the good that I have spoken to do to it. Now, therefore, tell the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: let every man return from his evil way, and make ye your ways and your doings good." In Jeremiah i, 10, addressed to the Prophet by Jehovah, are these words: "So I have constituted thee this day over nations and kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build up, and to plant."

Would any man of common sense say, after having seen both those passages and the expressions of the bull, that the first, and not the second, was the text alluded to by the Pope? And what would any person say of the candor of the man who would publish that the Pope asserted that he was Jehovah, and not Jeremiah? Who constituted Jehovah prince? No person. The self-existent Deity was not constituted—he was prince by his own authority. But Jeremiah was constituted prince, etc. The Pope says he is constituted. The allusion is then plain. The words of the bull and words of the first chapter are identically the same. The allusion is then plainly to the first chapter, and not to the eighteenth. The first chapter is actually quoted in the original bull, not the eighteenth. What then

can be thought of the man who, whether it be Dr. Barrow or the writer, states that the allusion is to the text of the eighteenth chapter, and that the Pope assumes the place of Jehovah, when in fact the allusion is to the text of the first chapter, and the Pope assumes only the character of the prophet Jeremiah? This is what I call distinct, deliberate misrepresentation; it is an unbecoming trick, of which truth stands in no need, and of which a man having the least disposition to honesty, would be ashamed.

V.

I have shown that the writer failed in his attempts to prove that it was a doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, that the Pope could dispense with the obligation of oaths, contracts, and agreements. I showed that the cases adduced by him did not come under the principle which he contended for; that they all had reference to oaths of allegiance, and that in the German cases the Popes had, by the law of nations, and by the special constitution of the German empire, a right to interfere; that in the English cases, though there was no strict right, according to the modern principles, there was a right of absolving from the oath according to the notions then entertained, by the concession of English kings, even of Henry VIII himself, who received from the Pope a title of "Defender of the Faith," which his successors have retained, though they have been almost uniformly the persecutors of the faith which he then defended; which right was conceded and established by the consent of the ambassadors of the kings, in the temporal and civil regulations of several councils; and as by the then laws of the realm, the crown of England was to go to the legitimate issue of the king, and by the law of Christendom the See of Rome was to judge of the legitimacy, and by the decision of that See Elizabeth was illegitimate, and therefore not entitled to the throne. That in the case of Navarre, the king was not a lord paramount and independent, but a prince holding as

a fief to a liege lord, to whom he was opposed, and at the request of whose prime minister the Pope, according to the laws then in force, knowing the fact of rebellious opposition which was alleged by the party of Guise, was bound to pronounce his subjects absolved from their oath to him who did not observe his oath to his liege lord.

Thus, we have seen that no one of these cases bears any analogy to the case of an American citizen, who owes no conditional allegiance to his State; whose government has conceded no right to any other power to interfere in its concerns; which has never been a party to those regulations; and which derives its rights and authority from the will of the people, and the law of God giving sanction to that will, freely and fully expressed by the regular organs of the nation.

But suppose the Popes did arrogate such a power unjustly to themselves in the cases of England and France. The people, who were Roman Catholics, did not acknowledge any right of the Popes to grant them such absolution. Yet those people held the Roman Catholic faith; therefore it is no doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith that the Pope could dispense with their oaths of allegiance.

Nor was this all: suppose even the Popes did hold such a doctrine; I can gratify the writer by showing him the distinct act of the Pope disclaiming any such power, and the distinct statement, by six very high authorities, that so far from being part of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion, it is distinctly opposed to its spirit and practice.

The calumny against the Roman Catholic religion, like most others which are still maintained and cherished in America, originated in England, a country whose writers, under the semblance of history, have published more slanders against Roman Catholics and their religion, than all the other writers who ever stuffed falsehoods into their works in any other nation, or perhaps in all other nations of the world. The whole weight of English authority, and

unrestrained genius of English invention, and distortion, fallacy, had been let loose and excited against the man Catholic religion during two centuries; and from nursery to the senate, wooden shoes and Popery were theme of abuse. King-killing doctrines were charged on them by the high Tories, whilst the Whigs cried that they were the most pernicious Jacobites, who held doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and at they looked upon every king to be a god. Their struction was sealed, and whatever party held the reins, ey were certain of being ground under the wheels of State, whilst they were misrepresented to the nation. ie pulpit and the press, the courts, the parliaments, the -houses, all were employed in calumniating them; and e Roman Catholics had neither press nor pulpit to rebut e charges, and by dint of repetition even the framers of s began to imagine what was re-echoed from so many arters must be true.

Towards the end of the last century, it was found cessary, for political purposes, to mitigate the persecu-n; and to afford some plausible pretext, and to preserve me appearance of decency, and consistency, and reason, r. Pitt affected to think that Catholics might be spared little, provided they really did not hold those doctrines ich their predecessors held; but as their doctrine was changeable, he feared it was impossible for them to show at they did not hold the king-killing and deposing and ier such doctrines. The Catholics told him, their doc-nes were unchangeable it was true, but that their prede-sors were calumniated,—they never held such doctrines; d they too were calumniated,—neither they nor the other man Catholics held any such doctrines. The wily states-n appeared to be astonished,—and said, if their univer-ies would testify that this imputed doctrine was no part their creed, something might be done to relieve them.[1]

[1] The questions and answers are given in "Calumnies on Catholics" in this ume, and we refer the reader to Section v of that article,

After having thus given the answers of those Catholic universities, I next give the decision of the late Pope Pius VI. The Roman Catholics in Ireland were permitted to swear allegiance to the king in 1772; but besides allegiance, there was a test of doctrine proposed to them; the form was submitted by the laity to the bishops, and subsequently was by them, together with their opinions thereupon, submitted to the Pope, Pius VI, after his accession to the pontificate, and it was solemnly approved by the Cardinals, and sanctioned by the Pope, as containing the spirit and expression of Catholic faith. The following is an abstract thereof, in the form in which it has since then been sworn by the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland: "I do swear that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under the pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; I further declare that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever." . . . "I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have, any temporal or jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of His only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or authority of the See of Rome, or any other person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man,

r absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although he Pope or any other person or persons, or authority vhatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or de-lare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God."

The Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland published the nswer of the Pope and of the Sacred Congregation, declar-ng this to be consonant with what always was the Catholic loctrine, and declaring whatever was opposed thereto to e opposed to the Catholic faith. The bishops exhorted ieir flocks to take the oath, and they themselves set the xample. Thus this writer, who always likes to look at the right side of the question, and has so much respect for iat Church built on "the Rock of Ages," will be gratified i finding his opinion to have been erroneous; and as becomes man of candor and religion, raised to so respectable a situa-on as he holds, I doubt not he will as openly avow his iistake. I have given him historical inquiry, public docu-ients, the decisions of the Pope and cardinals, of six univer-ities, and the solemn oaths of thirty-two bishops and their uccessors, and the solemn oaths of millions of men, who ave endured persecution rather than take an oath which hey could not with a safe conscience take; and I humbly onceive this is better evidence than the misrepresentation of Doctor Barrow, who was an interested writer in the midst f the prejudices of a persecuting nation.

But lest this should not be sufficient, I shall lay before iy friend another document, which was drawn up by the 'atholic committee in Dublin, and published by them on ie 17th of March, 1792, after it had received the sanction f the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and which was ubsequently moulded into the form of an oath, and approved f by the Pope and cardinals as consonant with Catholic doc-rine, and then taken generally by the archbishops, bishops, riests, and laity of Ireland. "We, the Catholics of Ireland, i deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies and idividuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby in the

face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, n this, our deliberate and solemn declaration. We abjure, avow, and condemn the opinion, that princes excommunic by the Pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical autho whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by t subjects, or by any other persons. We hold such doctrine detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare, that do not believe that either the Pope, with or withou general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesi tical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of t kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to majesty King George III, who is, by authority of Par ment, the lawful king of this realm. 2. We abjure, c demn, and detest as unchristian and impious, the princi that it is lawful to murder, or destroy, or anywise inj any person whatsoever, for or under the pretense of be heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that believe no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can e be justified or excused by, or under the pretense or cc that it was done either for the good of the Church, or obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. 3. further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian i impious principle, that 'no faith is to be kept with he tics.' This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, society, and even of common honesty; and it is our f belief, that an oath made to any person not of the C olic religion, is equally binding as if it were made to Catholic whatsoever. 4. We have been charged with hold as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with or with a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers, acquit or absolve us before God from our oath of a giance, or even from the just oaths or contracts ente into between man and man: Now we utterly renou abjure, and deny that we hold or maintain any such be as being contrary to the peace and happiness of soci inconsistent with morality, and above all, repugnant to *true spirit* of the Catholic religion."

The declaration goes on to state several other calumnies, and to deny and to refute them. I would recommend to my friend and to all others who wish to form correct opinions of the Roman Catholics and of their religion, to read Catholic as well as Protestant writers; for without meaning any imputation personally upon those who differ from us in belief, I owe it to truth and to justice to state that of upwards of one hundred authors of the several Protestant communions, which I have read upon the subject of the Catholic religion, I could not name three who have not been guilty of the most glaring misrepresentation; and no class of those writers have been so grossly erroneous in their statements as the English authors. Scarcely a single assertion of theirs concerning the doctrine of Catholics is correct; and they have done more to corrupt and to pervert Church history than any other people that ever existed.

I would recommend to my friend the perusal of the following extract of a pastoral letter from a Roman Catholic bishop of Waterford, in Ireland, to his clergy. Besides showing them how little connection the Catholic religion has with politics, it exhibits that even where Catholics were persecuted by Protestants, their principles, like those of the first Christians, were those of peace and not of rebellion: "In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing with the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the smallest connection with each other; the one is spiritual, the other temporal; the one regards the transitory things of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes and all forms of government, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies. Despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith; it may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that

sect arose, exists and dies away. Not so the religion which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, teaching the same doctrine, administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found or God adored. It is therefore called the Catholic or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts to pursue their temporal concerns and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; if even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land; if when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks and oppression in their hands, ground them down, when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate that they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare to speak to a Protestant with his hat on; when even the course of justice was perverted and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers; yet even in these provoking times, if the body of Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed; that however a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless. The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal must be

crushed by his own rash endeavors. The Popery laws are on the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land by making religious distinctions a mark to divide, to disturb, to oppress it.

Does my friend mean to create religious dissensions in America by exciting unfounded prejudices against the Roman Catholics? Does he regret the absence of division? Is he jealous of the recognition of the Roman Catholic by the Constitution? Would he draw here and wield that blood-stained sword which has spread such ruin through Europe? I trust those are not his views.

What have the Catholic bishops of this country done to render them objects of suspicion to the government? Do they swear temporal or civil obedience to the Pope? If they do not, where is the necessity of submitting to the jurists a question of the possibility of taking the two oaths of spiritual obedience to the Pope and temporal obedience to the State? Neither is this objection new. It was raised in England, and it was there discussed, examined, and proved to be but a play upon the prejudices of the people to whom the Pope had long been exhibited as the "raw head and bloody bones" to terrify aged children. It was examined in France, in Spain, in Portugal, in Ireland, in every part of Europe. In China and several parts of Asia, and in all those places which were as jealous of their temporal rights as America is, it was declared that it was by no means opposed to the civil allegiance due the State; and the bishops, on the same day, usually swear the two oaths of temporal fealty to the State and spiritual fealty to the Pope. The circumstance of his being a temporal prince makes no change in the conditions, for it is not obedience to his temporal but to his spiritual authority which is promised. Jurists have already decided the case in every one of those countries which I have mentioned, and many of those jurists were not Roman Catholics, yet they all determined that a

citizen of any State may take it, and also the oath of fealty to the State. Do the United States claim spiritual obedience from the citizens? No. They leave the people free to pay to whom they please any spiritual obedience they think proper; and the Tartar, the Turk, the Greek, the Russian may, by the spirit of the Constitution, live here, and, provided they pay civil obedience to the State, be in spiritual submission to the Grand Lama, the Caliph, the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of St. Petersburg; so may the Roman Catholic to the Pope. The conscience of each individual is to regulate his religion. The bishop of a Protestant Church has just as little right to regulate it as the bishop of a Catholic Church; and may the people of this country be ever ready to resist any wicked attempt to divide this Union by making religious distinctions a pretext to disturb or to oppress any well-conducted citizen.

What does the oath say? 1. The person taking it promises obedience to the Pope as successor of St. Peter. St. Peter never was a temporal prince; the Apostle had supreme spiritual authority. It is then spiritual obedience he promises. 2. He promises that he will not consent to any plot to kill or maim the Pope; to this, as to all the following clauses of a similar description, is added, "salvo meo ordine—saving my order;" this expressed salvo distinctly excepts if the Pope shall invade the territory to which that bishop belongs, for then the law of nature and of nations requires the bishop to exhort his flock to oppose the unjust aggressor: and in the cases of some Popes who, forgetting their duty, did join in unjust wars, the bishops did oppose them under this salvo, though they had taken this oath, and were always considered as having done their duty. 3. He promises to keep the counsels secret; this too comes under the salvo; that is the counsels appertaining to the good of religion, not prejudicial to the rights of States or individuals. 4. He promises that he will help to keep for the Church the temporalities of the papacy;

for it has always been considered a great benefit to have the head of the Church independent of the temporal control of any State or sovereign, because it prevents jealousy of other nations, and undue influence by his own sovereign to this clause; however, the salvo too applies, for he is not required to arm or to excite to arms in its preservation. 5. That he will assist the legates or ambassadors of the Church as far as he can and they require. 6. That he will preserve the primacy and superiority of the Holy See. Every Roman Catholic believes it to be derived from divine institution; it is therefore his duty to preserve the institutions of God. The words "increase" and "advance" mean no more than that he shall not endeavor to diminish and lessen them by sinister interpretations. His own order requires the preservation of its own rights; to increase the power of that over himself unduly would diminish his own, and hence the "salvo meo ordine" is here again in force. 7. That he will make known plots against the Pope. 8. That he will preserve the deposit of faith, and the discipline, and rules, and laws of the ancient Church. 9. That he will endeavor to follow after and to argue against heresy and schism. This clause has been badly translated, with the evident intention of conveying a false impression to the mind. "Hereticos, etc., persequar et impugnabo." Mr. Ainsworth gives seven meanings for the verb "persequar," and no one of them is persecute: the meaning here is follow after; and "impugnabo" means assail by argument; and "hereticos" has never been understood as meaning that the individuals were to be followed after, but the doctrines. Thus the meaning of this much-misrepresented phrase is nothing more than the very same which a Protestant bishop solemnly promises that he will "root out and contend against erroneous doctrines;" not meaning by the sword of persecution, but by the sword of the Word. Thus the clause is quite innoxious. However, as it was liable to misconstruction, it was in the pontificate of Pius VI regulated, that where the meaning was misrepre-

sented the clause might be omitted; and no bishop in America has sworn it. The other clauses are not objected to.

I now assure the writer who has, I should hope unintentionally, but grossly, misrepresented our religion, and I assure him in sincerity, in the words of a Secretary to the Catholic Board of Ireland, in his letter to a Protestant historian who misrepresented the acts of that body at the very time of their session, "although we profess the Roman Catholic religion, we would not be of that communion one single hour, were its tenets such as they are represented through that baneful prejudice so prevalent in Great Britain and Ireland, which proves such an effectual drawback to the otherwise inevitable prosperity of the country. And we cannot sufficiently lament seeing unfounded calumnies so industriously circulated, as they only tend to keep alive prejudices which all liberal men reprobate as pestiferous to society."

I feel religion to be an important concern. I am convinced that no accident of birth or of education, that no antiquity or respectability of a Church, can be a warrant for our rejecting the truth. I was born of Roman Catholic parents, educated in the Roman Catholic religion. I find it to be venerable for its antiquity, the religion of the most enlightened nations, of the greatest empires, of the most powerful monarchs, of the most learned men, of the wisest statesmen, and most enlightened philosophers, during a long succession of ages. All those circumstances weigh nothing with me in the examination which I have made. I have read and studied the tenets of those who have separated from that Church, because from her every other Christian sect has mediately or immediately departed. I have weighed the alleged reasons for their separation. I have not taken their tenets, their reasons, their allegations from their adversaries, but from themselves: and thus I have made my decision. I respect the judgment of those who think differently from me. I freely concede to them, as I firmly demand for myself, the right to form the

important decision in the choice of religious observance, with a solemn and awful responsibility to God alone. But whilst I shall have the opportunity of correcting the mistakes of my friends, or the misrepresentations of my enemies, I shall do so with calm and undeviating perseverance, not by empty assertion, but by historical inquiry and the exhibition of facts.

At present I close my task; it remains with my fellow-Catholics to determine whether I shall resume it. Should no opportunity be afforded me, I must rest patiently content to witness, as I have long done in silence, our religion reviled and our tenets misrepresented, to a people who are anxious for the discovery of truth, but who are amused with fabrications—to a people who condemn us because they do not know us.

THE BULLS OF THE CRUSADES.[1]

I.

It is not without feelings of deep regret that I am compelled to charge the editor of the *North American Review* with having done serious injustice to my religion in his number for July last. I hope, I trust it was on his part unintentional; yet, whatever might have been his motive and his impression, the fact is that he has libelled the Roman Catholic religion. Were the facts which he alleges true, I should not dissent from his conclusions; for some of those he adduces the authority of writers whom he, I suppose, believed to be good witnesses. I would then exculpate him from so much; but he states other facts as if he had before him the documents upon which he rested as authority; and if he had those documents, and read them with the slightest attention, upon reperusing his own article he must perceive a total aberration in his statements.

The article of which I complain is Art. x, p. 158, on South America. In all that he writes concerning the political bondage of the Spanish colonies, whatever my convictions or feelings may be, I at present have no concern. In all his hopes and wishes for the welfare and prosperity of our neighboring republics, I most heartily concur. But in all that he has written concerning my religion, I beg to

[1] This Essay, occasioned by an article in the *North American Review* for July, 1824, in which were contained some vague and general denunciations of the corruption of the Catholic religion in the South American States, is chiefly devoted to an exposure of some of the historical fallacies and misrepresentations of laws, usages, and doctrines, upon which such charges are usually founded. The greater part is occupied with an accurate explanation of the Bulls of the Crusades and the Bull of Composition, with the special privileges enjoyed by force of these in the *dominions* of the King of Spain. The Essay was published in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, 1824.

inform him that he does not appear to be sufficiently acquainted with the subject of which he treats, and that he assumes as facts many things which are untrue.

In p. 164 he informs us:

"In the future pages of our journal, we hope to exhibit from time to time as full and minute a view of the revolutionary history of South America as the nature of our work will admit. We have access to materials which we trust will enable us to do reasonable justice to a subject which is much less understood in this country than its merits deserve, or than our interests as a nation would seem to require, especially when relations of the most intimate kind are daily gaining strength between the United States and the new republics at the South."

This is a reason why I am the more anxious that he should be better informed as regards my religion; for we do not wish to be misrepresented to our fellow-citizens and to the reading world by an authority which is deservedly respected. I am aware that the editor condemns my religion as corrupted and superstitious; I am aware that he is under what I will call an erroneous impression, that it is unfavorable to republicanism. Upon these topics I think very differently from him; but this is not the ground of my complaint. I do not even object that in p. 192 he writes of Roman Catholics: "The spiritual guides of the people were the worst enemies to their peace and happiness; precept and example conspired to scatter poison in the hearts of the unsuspecting, to corrupt the springs of good principle, and extinguish the light of moral truth." I do not complain of this, and more than this: I should blush to write it of the Unitarians; and when I designate this division of persons, it is not to charge them with being more corrupt than others, but to ask the editor of the *Review* what would be his feelings did I wantonly thus attack that body to which I understand he belongs.

But I do complain that the whole portion of his article which *describes the Bulls* of the Crusades is a palpable

misstatement. As yet, I acquit the editor of the moral turpitude of intentional misrepresentation; but he must permit me to prove my assertion; and though my feelings have been deeply wounded, I shall, I trust, avoid that sort of disrespectful, I may call it contemptuous, language with which it is not even, by scholars and gentlemen, deemed illiberal to assail my Church.

Here is the first extract:

"But the most extraordinary imposition in the whole catalogue was the tax levied through the instrumentality of the Church, which practiced on the credulity, corrupted the morals, and degraded the character of the people, at the same time it picked their pockets. As long ago as the time of the Crusades, bulls were granted by the Pope to certain Spaniards, allowing dispensations for the zeal they displayed in exterminating the infidels, and as an inducement to perseverance in so pious a work. Custom, which establishes everything, brought these bulls into general use; and for many ages they have been palmed off on the people in Spain, ignorant and wise, as possessing a virtue and a power which could only come from heaven. And, as if to fix the last seal of degradation on the Americans, these precious devices of superstition and crime were scattered profusely over the whole extent of the New World, and there employed, by alarming the religious fears of the people on the one hand, and encouraging their vices on the other, to wring from them the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work.

"The bulls were issued every two years, sent over to America from Spain, and sold out by the priests under the direction of a commissary appointed to superintend this branch of the revenue. They were of four kinds: 1. The bull for the living, or Bula de Cruzada, so called because it has some traditionary connection with the Bulls of the Crusades. It was deemed essential for every person to possess this bull, and its virtues were innumerable. Whoever purchased it might

be absolved from all crimes, except heresy, by any priest; and even of heresy he could never be suspected with this shield to protect him. On fast days he might eat anything but meat, and on other days he was exempted from many of the rigorous injunctions of the Church. Two of these bulls, if they had been paid for, communicated double the benefits of one. 2. The bull for eating milk and eggs during Lent. This was intended only for ecclesiastics and persons not holding the first, which entitled the possessor to all the advantages of both. 3. The bull of the dead, Bula de Defuntos, which was indispensable to rescue departed souls from purgatory. It was bought by the relations of a deceased person as soon as possible after death; and poor people were thrown into agonies of grief and lamentation, if they were not able to purchase this passport for the spirit of a relative suffering the miseries of purgatory. 4. The bull of composition, which released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner. One slight condition, it is true, was attached to this bull, which was, that the person, when stealing, had not been moved thereto by any forethought of the virtue of a bull to make the property his own and his conscience white. Bating this small condition, the bull converted all stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief. It had the power, moreover, to correct the moral offences of false weights and measures, tricks and fraud in trade; and, in short, all those little obliquities of principle and conduct, to which swindlers resort to rob honest people of their possessions. 'It assures the purchaser,' says Depons, 'the absolute property in whatever he may obtain, by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows.' The price of these bulls depended on the amount of goods stolen; but it is just to add that only fifty of them could be taken by the same person in a year.

"The price of the Bula de Cruzada was fixed by the commissary, and varied according to the quality of the

purchasers. In the mandate of the commissary general for the year 1801, he says: 'The price is a little raised, but it is on account of the new expenses of government, and of the necessity of extinguishing the royal certificates, which the scarcity of money in a time of war has compelled the king to issue.' At that time a viceroy paid fifteen dollars and other persons of wealth and distinction paid five. If any man practiced deception in this matter, and bought a bull at a lower rate than his rank or property demanded, the bull was without virtue, and the purchaser had the comfort of reflecting that he had defrauded himself and thrown away his money. Such a deception was seldom known, even where the amount of a man's property had escaped the scrutiny of the officers; and no sources of the revenue were more certain and productive than this scandalous traffic in scraps of brown paper. It must be remembered that these bulls were available for two years only, and then the people were again to be plundered by this infamous, juggling artifice to stir up their passions and interests, and even to quicken their crimes, where this could be done with a better prospect of grasping their money. But this league of the powers of darkness is fast dissolving; religion could not be mocked nor justice outraged any longer; and if the revolution had done no other thing than relieve the minds of sixteen millions of people from a thraldom so barbarous and debasing, the deed would of itself be a good reward for the sacrifices and sufferings thus far endured by the South Americans in gaining their independence."

The history of the origin and continuance of these bulls might at first sight appear of no importance to their present nature; however, such an impression would be erroneous, for without some knowledge of their history, it would be impossible to have a correct idea of their nature. I shall, therefore, as briefly as possible, give such a sketch *as will* be, I trust, sufficient. In page 184 of the *Review*, *the editor* has the following passage: "The alcavalda origi-

nated in Old Spain during the wars against the Moors, and was granted to defray the expenses of those wars. It was limited to three years, but was afterwards extended; and against all the principles of equitable government, it was entailed as an eternal inheritance on the Spanish provinces in South America."

Now, my object is not to advocate either this tax upon sales which is here described, nor to enter into an examination of the justice or injustice of extending it to the American colonies,—but to show a fact, viz., that the tax for defraying the expenses of the wars against the Moors was extended to New Spain, as well as to Old Spain.

I find another fact which is acknowledged by the reviewer in page 196, viz.: that in the year 1519, Charles V changed the nature of the government, making the American territory an intregal part of the Spanish kingdom. In point of law, therefore, I apprehend it would not be very preposterous to assert, that the taxes to which one portion of the kingdom was liable might be extended to the other portion. The Americans might not have been fairly dealt with, either by their own local rulers, by the Council of the Indies, or by the king; but still this would not destroy the principle of the liability to taxation. I also find the fact that they were made liable to the tax alcavalda, which was imposed to defray the expense of the Moorish wars. Upon the same principle they were made liable to the tax of the Bula de Cruzada, which was one of exactly the same description as that of alcavalda. Thus we find it was not an ecclesiastical tax, but a civil tax paid to the king for the expenses of the State.

My next inquiry regards its origin.

Of course I do not expect the reviewer to believe the truth of our religious doctrines, neither am I now entering upon the discussion of their truth, but I am about to state, in fact, what are some of our doctrines.

We believe that the Church has power to regulate ecclesiastical discipline, and that she received this power from our

Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that a part of the discipline consists in observing days of fast and days of abstinence, and that she has authority to specify those days, and to regulate the extent of that abstinence. We believe, of course, that she has the power of repealing those laws which she thus makes, and of modifying them, and of dispensing occasionally, when she shall see cause, with the observance of some or all of them. We believe this dispensation may be granted by the Pope, who is the head of the Church, to individuals or to collective bodies. Upon those principles I shall explain the part regarding fasting and abstinence.

Another point of doctrine in our Church, is that in giving jurisdiction to a priest to hear confessions, the bishop has it in his power to give it either fully or partially. Of course if only partial jurisdiction has been given, and the clergyman finds the person who applies for his ministry to be included in the exceptions or reservations which affect his jurisdiction, this person should apply to a priest having full powers, or, as it is usually expressed, power to absolve from all crimes and censures. But of course this does not mean that he has power to absolve from any crime, unless the penitent has dispositions which will justify him before God. This will explain that part regarding the choice of a confessor.

I proceed to examine facts. Towards the close of the eleventh century, Peter the Hermit filled the centre of Europe with the tale of sufferings of the Christians in the East, and Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont, in 1095, published the first Crusade to deliver the Greek and Asiatic Churches from the cruel persecution, humiliation, and massacres of the Mahometans. On this occasion, the remission of all canonical penances, full or plenary absolution from all ecclesiastical censures which had been incurred for previous crimes, and plenary indulgence, or the remission of all the temporal punishment due to sins which had been remitted by the mercy of God, through the merits of

our Redeemer, together with a dispensation from certain fasts and abstinences, was by this Bull of the Crusade then published granted to all those who, with proper dispositions, undertook an enterprise which, after solemn deliberation, had been pronounced just, necessary and meritorious, and which appeared to be more called for by the circumstances of the times than the present state of Greece demands the sympathy and aid of modern Christians.

The Bull of the Crusade was then, in this view, a law exempting a class of persons who were looked upon as engaged in a service meritorious in the sight of God and man, useful to religion and humanity, exempting those men from the operation of a general ecclesiastical law, and extending to them certain spiritual benefits of which they were supposed capable, for reasons which were deemed sufficient. To enter upon the history of the Crusades is no part of my object; I shall not therefore pursue it. The first bull of this sort given to Spain was by Pope Gelasius II, in 1118.

Spain had long groaned under the Moorish yoke, and her sons and her kings frequently attempted her deliverance. In the year 1128, exactly ten years after their first establishment at Jerusalem, six of the nine original Knights Templar, who came to France, applied to the Council of Bishops, then sitting at Troyes, for a constitution and rules; the council acceded to their request and referred their formation to Bernard, the famous Abbot of Claraval. The rule was strict, and amongst other regulations was one of abstinence on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, throughout the year, and fast and abstinence from milk and eggs on Fridays. They got some possessions in Spain upon condition of defending them against the Moors. About 1160 a report was current that the Arabs were bringing a great army to attack the town of Calatrava, in Castile, which was one of their commanderies. Knowing their weakness, the knights resigned the town to Sancho III, King of Castile. An abbot of Citeaux got the place for his

order upon the same conditions that the Templars had held it, and the Archbishop of Toledo granted privileges similar to those of the Bull of the Crusade, to such persons as would aid the abbot and his monks to keep the city. Twenty thousand warriors assembled, the place was not attacked, the military members of the monastery had many skirmishes in which they were successful, and in 1163 Pope Alexander III confirmed the order under the title of that of Calatrava. This was the second grant of similar dispensations to those contained in the bull to any part of Spain.

A number of other military orders now sprang up and obtained extensive grants and privileges for preserving the country from the Mussulman ravages.

In 1210 Alphonsus IX, King of Castile, being sorely pressed by the infidels, besought the aid of the Christian princes and people, and especially of the Pope. Innocent III exhorted the bishops of France and Provence particularly to assist him, and formally granted the dispensations of the Bull of the Crusade to those who would join his army before the Octave of Pentecost, 1211; and had prayers on his behalf offered up at Rome. He was joined by a vast number of Crusaders, and amongst others, by the Kings of Navarre and of Arragon, and on the 16th of July he obtained one of the most signal victories on record. To go through the subsequent history of the Spanish wars is not necessary. I shall just touch upon one or two other facts very briefly.

On the eve of the feast of St. Peter, in 1236, Ferdinand, in whom the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile were united, took the city of Cordova, which had been one of the strongest holds of the Moorish power; but his revenues were greatly impaired, and it was necessary to have money as well as men to protect the Christians. The exemptions of the bull had been hitherto confined to those who gave personal service in the army. The king wrote to Pope Gregory IX, requesting he would obtain pecuniary aid

from the clergy. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo and to the Bishops of Burgos and of Osma, exhorting them to make and to procure contributions from the clergy and the monasteries, and exhorting the laity to contribute, and extending to those who, in proportion to their means, would aid by contributions the same privileges as if they served in the field.

The long struggles with the Moors caused the same necessity for the continuation of this bull that existed for its original publication. And when, in 1483, Ferdinand and Isabella were endeavoring to regain Granada, and thus to secure the permanent safety of the peninsula against the irruptions of the ancient enemies of their people, they found themselves greatly in want of means. The then Pope, Sixtus IV, had exerted himself to procure them from the clergy and people. Innocent VIII succeeded Sixtus in 1484, and in the next year he confirmed the act of his predecessor, so that the king prepared to attack Granada with a considerable force. In the next year, 1486, the grand master of the Order of Calatrava having died, the knights prepared to go into an election; but Ferdinand and Isabella had procured from Innocent VIII an injunction by which the administration of the order and the nomination of its grand master was given to Ferdinand during his life, and upon a memorial of the kings to the Pope, it was evident that the orders had not rendered all the services they ought, that the kings had been at very great expense, and that the only mode of recompense which was left for their service and expenditure was to be found in the receipt of the revenues of the military orders, which had not done their duty, but had been too often the cause of dissension and of civil wars. However, it was not until the year 1500, that, under Pope Alexander VI, the grandmastership of the orders of Calatrava and St. James of Alcantary was finally united to the crown of Spain.

Meantime, however, Ferdinand was making progress; in 1488, after the siege of Baca, many of the principal Moors

withdrew to Africa. In the next year he obtained not only the ordinary contributions, but the Bishops of Avila and of Leon were commissioned to make extraordinary collections. By means of these he raised an army of 50,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, with which he vigorously pursued the war. In March, 1491, the Marquis of Villana went up to the enemy's country. Ferdinand and Isabella both went with the army to the conquest of this last retreat. At length a capitulation took place, and the final expulsion of the Moors was the consequence, though not immediately. Thus, in order to repay, in some measure, the expenses of a protracted warfare of upwards of six hundred years, the people were exhorted to contribute by a light tax, in proportion to their means, towards defraying the expenses; and as the contest was principally for the preservation of the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ against Mahometans, the constituted authorities of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ encouraged the faithful to contribute to the expenditures by a light tax, to be paid to that government which preserved the religion of our Saviour. The mode of encouragement was by granting certain exemptions from the severe discipline of the Church law to the contributors, and by those means repaying the government which protected religion.

One question only can be raised: Had those persons power to dispense with the observance of the law? There is no question but they had, for he who makes a law can dispense with its observance.

The reviewer, I suppose, looks upon the laws regarding fast and abstinence, and perhaps our entire discipline, "as affording a gloomy spectacle to the philanthropist or the friend of human improvement and happiness." I shall not now quarrel with him for his opinion, but I give my own, viz., that a contribution of alms, or, if he will call it so, a tax, was well bestowed to preserve Christianity where Mahometanism would have swayed, and whence it would have made its inroads upon the west of Europe, in con-

junction with the ravages that it was making in the East. And we farther are of opinion that when the question was, shall we relax a part of non-essential Church discipline or expose the Church to destruction, there could be no doubt as to the decision. The system of loans was then unknown. But, in fact, ought not this tax properly be viewed more in the light of an interest which the posterity of the warriors and people of that day continue to pay for the preservation of the blessing which has been transmitted to them, if Christianity is a blessing? The Church viewing things in this light, encourages the people to pay the tax, by granting certain privileges to the contributors.

Now that we see the origin and nature of the Bula de Cruzada, I ask, why was it extended to the Spanish possessions in America? The reviewer gives us the plain and obvious reason; p. 206, he tells that the old Spaniards for many years constituted the chief part of the effective population, and willingly submitted to a government instituted in the country to which their associations and attachments were confined. He also gives us in p. 166 a second reason, viz., because in 1519, which was certainly before the many years to which he alludes had passed away, the American possessions became an integral portion of Spain. I give him a third reason, that the exemption consequent upon this tax paid for such a purpose, is in the Roman Catholic Church considered a very extraordinary favor and privilege, which Spaniards enjoy as a reward for the zeal and fidelity of their ancestors.

Now I come to examine the special provisions of this bull. For the reasons above mentioned it is not to be obtained at present in any other place but the territory of the King of Spain. If it has been continued in Mexico or Colombia or any of the republics which have cast off the Spanish yoke, I know not. The reviewer asserts that last year the bulls were sold in Mexico. If so, it must have been by a special continuation of power upon some new ground. It certainly could not be under the ancient

regulation. I am ignorant of the facts. But I know that the case has been regularly decided: 1. That any place withdrawing allegiance from the crown of Spain, loses the privilege. 2. That upon special considerations the Pope may renew for them the privilege without requiring, as a condition, their return to the subjection from which they had withdrawn.

The purchase of the bula was a perfectly voluntary act on the part of each individual. By not purchasing he only placed himself in the situation of any other Roman Catholic out of the Spanish dominions: he committed no crime, he incurred no censure, he deprived himself of no sacrament. He kept his money in his pocket and observed the laws of the Church. In this I can perceive nothing either "to alarm the religious fears" of the people, or to "wring from them" the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work. I can also plainly perceive the error of the reviewer when he tells us: "It was deemed essential for every person to possess this bull;" for, in truth, it was essential for no person, being matter of perfect option.

I have been somewhat tedious, but the charges made upon our Church were of the most destructive character, and by a respectable authority. I now say that although the writer may be of opinion that our belief is erroneous, and may consider the Church's discipline to be incorrect, yet he must feel that his article was constructed upon unsafe grounds, so far as I have examined; but what remains must be closely scrutinized.

II.

I now proceed to examine his "virtues" of these "scraps of brown paper." What then is the virtue of the scrap of brown paper? Nothing. This is an unfair mode of treating a question; neither does it manifest any wit. For when a person exhibits to you the deeds which are evidence of his right to property, when he exhibits to you

his commission as an officer, or as a magistrate, or as an ambassador, it is not by the color of the paper you are to try whether he owns the property or possesses the power. In this case, the scrap of brown paper is the evidence of having obtained a certain privilege, the ground of which we have before seen. The holder presented himself to confess to a priest who had the common approbation of the bishop, but who had not ordinarily reserved jurisdiction. The penitent could be absolved, not because he had a scrap of brown paper, but because, for what was deemed sufficient cause, this priest had in this case been vested with all jurisdiction by the act of the Pope and the consent of the bishop.

A person going to war might fall into a crime, the jurisdiction to absolve from which was usually reserved, and he might not be able to meet a clergyman having extra jurisdiction. The Bull of the Crusade, in this case, vested, as regarded him, every approved priest with extra jurisdiction, and when the same privilege was extended to contributors in money, they should produce to the priest the evidence of their privilege, which evidence might be upon coarse or fine paper. The quality of the paper made no difference. Now let us see the nature of this absolution from crime by the priest: "Plenam omnium suorum peccatorum (si de illis corde contriti, et ore confessi fuerint) aut non valentes confiteri id corde desideraverint indulgentiam, et remissionem;" that is, "full remission and indulgence of all their sins (if they have heartfelt contrition, and shall have made oral confession), or not being able to confess, shall have desired it in their hearts." To the clause giving the power of selecting any approved confessor, whether his ordinary jurisdiction was limited or not, the reviewer has put an exception—"except heresy; and even of heresy he could never be suspected with this shield to protect him." I have carefully perused several copies of the bull in different languages, and not one of them that I have seen contains even the most remote allusion to any such exception. Upon what authority,

then, was it inserted? And why was the exception really contained in the clause omitted? The following is the contained exception: "Modo in casibus in quibus necessaria erit, per ipsos, vel dato impedimento, per hœredes aut alios satisfactio fiat:" so "that in those cases in which it shall be necessary, satisfaction be made by them, or they being impeded, by their heirs or by others." Thus, the persons who had injured their neighbors in property or character, could not obtain the privileges of the bull without making the necessary satisfaction. Every Roman Catholic knows what that satisfaction is, viz., restitution. But we shall have more of that hereafter. This clause also specifies, lest it might be in any way overlooked, the absolute necessity of hearty contrition for sins and negligences. Shall we be told that the doctrine of contrition of the heart for sin being necessary for reconciliation with heaven is "encouraging their vices," and that they who taught it "practiced on the credulity, corrupted the morals, and degraded the character of the people, at the same time that they picked their pockets?" For aught I know, this "might be a precious device of superstition and crime." But I think it is a salutary doctrine, and the only foundation of sound morality.

"On fast days he might eat anything but meat, and on other days he was exempted from many of the rigorous injunctions of the Church." The first part of this is correct, and is almost the only exemption from the law of discipline; the other part is so vague, that it may be true, or not, as the word rigorous is understood. I shall now take what he calls the second bull.

The distinction here is one which is founded upon a general principle of the Church, that as the clergy ought to give good example to the laity, they ought to be more rigorously observant of discipline, and ought for any necessary relaxation or indulgence to make larger sacrifices. Thus, the common bull was taken by the laity, and bula *parva* by the clergy. The prelates paid highest and had

least relaxation of discipline, and this principle so regulated the tax and the relaxation, until it came to the laity, that the more dignified the clergyman, the more he paid, and the less relaxation he obtained. The laity took the common bull, but viceroys and the nobility paid more than they whose income was small and who were untitled. But for all the laity the privileges were the same. Monks and nuns and friars were not allowed any relaxations. Now the innumerable virtues may be easily summed up.

1. If any church or place should fall under interdict, these persons may use it for their devotion, provided they were not partakers in the crime which induced the interdict. They may in the territory under censure use their own private oratories for divine worship upon the same conditions, provided that on each occasion they devoutly prayed to God to restore peace and harmony to His people, and to free them from the persecutions and insults of Mahometans and other infidels. They may have Mass celebrated in those places an hour earlier or an hour later than the canonical time. They may in those places be admitted to the sacraments, except the Easter Communion; and should they die during the interdict, their obsequies may be celebrated in a moderate way.

2. The laity may on days of abstinence and fast use all food which would otherwise be prohibited on those days, except flesh meat. The clergy follow special and more restricted rules as above.

3. Those who shall through motives of piety, by fasting, prayer, or works of charity, or religious exercises voluntarily undertaken, endeavor to obtain from God His merciful aid for the protection of the true religion and the defeat of its oppressors, having the bull, shall receive the remission of certain penances and the participation in the prayers and merits of other pious persons.

4. Persons of a like description, who shall on particular days unite their devout prayers with those of their brethren who offer them up for the like purpose five times before

one altar, or at five different altars, shall obtain the same benefit as they who make the same stations at Rome.

5. That they may with greater purity of heart pray to God, and be more acceptably heard by Him, they have power to present themselves to any approved confessor, who shall be thereby authorized, upon their having the proper disposition of heart, especially true contrition for sins and negligences, and making the proper restitution to any person whom they have injured, to absolve them from all sin and censures, howsoever and to whomsoever reserved, and after enjoining salutary penance, to communicate to them a plenary indulgence. Once this power, and to a lesser extent at any other time through the year, and to its fullest extent at the hour of their death.

6. That their confessor shall have power, upon examination, to commute vows made by them into the performance of other good but more convenient works, except in three cases, and except such commutation would be an act of injustice to a third person, who has not consented to the same.

Now as regards the third head, the Bull of the Dead, (Bula de Defuntos), I shall find it necessary to enter somewhat more at large into my explanation of one or two doctrines of my Church, which the reviewer, I have no doubt, rejects as foolish and untenable. For this I shall not quarrel with him; I believe them firmly, and have no doubt whatever that God has revealed their truth; but I do not now enter upon proofs, I merely give explanations.

We believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained may be assisted and benefitted by the suffrages of the faithful. We believe that Christ left in His Church the power of granting indulgences, and that those indulgences may be usefully applied by way of *suffrage* to the aid and benefit of those suffering souls. *These* are doctrines of the truth of which we are firmly *convinced,* but as they are doctrines which in this country

are greatly and generally misunderstood, I shall develop them more fully. We believe purgatory to be a place of punishment where some souls suffer for a time before they are admitted into heaven. We believe there is a place of eternal punishment, to which all those souls that depart from this life in a state of mortal sin, enemies of God, will be irrevocably condemned. This place is called hell. We believe that no sin is remitted, nor grace obtained, except through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. We believe that those merits are efficacious, if He will, to remove the guilt of sin from the soul, and to release also from the punishment which is due to that guilt. We believe the guilt to be different from the punishment; the guilt may be incurred several years before the infliction of the punishment: or the punishment may be inflicted immediately after the guilt is incurred; punishment follows the guilt, but is not the guilt. We believe that punishment for the guilt of sin may be temporary as regards this life: may also be temporary in the next life, or may be eternal as regards the next world. We believe it to be eternal in hell. We believe that when God removes the guilt of sin through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, He may remit the eternal punishment and not remit the temporary punishment. We believe that in removing the guilt and remitting the eternal punishment, He generally inflicts a temporary punishment, the extent of which is known to Him but unknown to us, which must be endured by the justified soul, unless it be removed in one of those ways which will be efficacious for its removal. We believe that all the sins of men are not mortal sins, which deserve punishment during eternity in hell. We believe that although in baptism and on other occasions, God does remit the guilt and all the punishment due to sin, He often, on other occasions, inflicts a temporary punishment instead of the eternal punishment which He mercifully remits. We believe that all they who die in *venial sin, and all who* have not fully endured the tem-

porary penalty affixed by God upon the remission of mortal sin, do suffer more or less in purgatory and are afterwards admitted into heaven. We believe that all they who, justified by the merits of Christ, die without the guilt of any sin, and having no arrear of temporary punishment unremitted, are the only persons who immediately enter heaven. We believe purgatory is not, of course, a permanent state. We think the suppositions which I have made are reasonable, and that the facts which I have stated are revealed by heaven.

The communion of saints is another article of the Roman Catholic faith; by this we believe that all they who belong to the Church and can be aided in their necessities, will be benefitted by the prayers and good works of persons who, through the merits of Christ, are acceptable to God.

We believe persons who are in a state of temporary affliction may be aided by the suffrages, which means the prayers and good works, of acceptable supplicants offered on their behalf. Hence we believe upon those principles and upon the testimony of revelation, that the souls in purgatory may be assisted by the suffrages of their brethren.

I next come to state the doctrine of indulgences. An indulgence is not leave to commit sin; is not pardon of the guilt of sin; is not remission of the eternal punishment due to mortal sin: but is a total or partial remission of the canonical penance or of the temporary punishment which is due to sin after its guilt has been remitted, and which remission can be had only by the means established by God, accompanied with the dispositions required by God. We believe this power of indulgences was left by Christ in His Church. We believe it consists in the authorized minister of the God of heaven in His Church, granting by the authority of God an application of the superabundant means *of reconciliation* left by the ordinance of Christ, to the *obtaining* from God partial or total remission of temporary *punishment* to certain persons, for sufficient reasons. We

believe this application cannot be arbitrarily and wantonly made, and if so made it is inefficacious. We believe that it must be made for good and sufficient cause, profitable to religion and the improvement of morals, and if not so made, it is inefficacious. We believe that no application of indulgence can be profitably made to a person who is not in the state of friendship with God, and truly serving Him in spirit and in truth, and if any benefit is expected from the use of an indulgence by a person in the state of mortal sin or disposed to commit mortal sin, such expectation is a foolish delusion. We believe that besides being in the friendship of God, a person in order to profit by an indulgence must faithfully perform the required duties. Thus we believe, that no ecclesiastical authority can grant an indulgence for mere temporal purposes, and any whose object would tend to such purposes and end in them would be altogether useless and invalid. But we believe that the contribution of alms for a purpose beneficial to religion is not for a mere temporal purpose, but to obtain spiritual benefit by temporal means; as to raise an army to protect a Christian nation from destruction by infidels. We also believe, that be the contribution ever so great in money, the contributor will not receive any benefit of the indulgence unless he first becomes reconciled to God by the means which God prescribes, and fully and sincerely determines to lead a virtuous life.

Now the Bula de Cruzada expresses all this in a manner which, to Roman Catholics, is fully clear and much more forcibly conveyed than it is here by me. Hence, if the traffic in these bits of brown paper be a scandalous imposition, the means of detecting the imposition are afforded to the purchasers, because they have in print the conditions, which to them are fully intelligible. To one who is not a Roman Catholic, and who is too proud of his ignorance respecting tenets which he condemns without inquiry, in the technical expressions and in the phrases there might be some obscurity, which he ought to attribute to his own

self-sufficiency in not caring to inquire; and should he write about what he has never sought to know, can we be astonished at the exhibition of blunders which he would, perhaps, glory in for not having taken pains to prevent?

Now, the writer of the *Review* did not understand the Catholic doctrine, and yet he has most majestically condemned what he did not take the trouble to study. I prefer this to the other side of the alternative; for if he did know the Catholic doctrine, I should be reluctantly compelled to think most unfavorably of his moral feelings. I should consider him to be a deliberate and wanton libeller of the largest Christian body in the universe.

The bull says: They who contribute to repay the Kings of Spain for the heavy losses and expenses incurred in preserving Christianity against the Mussulmans, shall be exempt from some of the rigorous discipline of the Church; and those of them who do besides, with true sorrow of heart for sin, endeavor to obtain pardon for those sins through the sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ, received with proper dispositions, making satisfaction to their injured neighbors, shall receive an indulgence; and those of them who by prayers and good works, will endeavor to render God propitious to His Church, shall also receive an indulgence. No one is obliged to contribute, but this encouragement is held forth to the contributors.

The reviewer says: "It is deemed essential for every person to possess the bull. This precious device of superstition and of crime was employed by alarming the religious fears of the people on one hand, and encouraging their vices on the other, to wring from them the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work; this tax corrupted the morals of the people at the same time that it picked their pockets."

Now I would humbly ask how an optional contribution can be called a tax? How that which might be conscientiously omitted could be deemed essential? How the religious fears of the people were alarmed by leaving them

an unbiassed choice? How money was wrung from them which they were not placed under any necessity of paying? How pockets were picked in the case before us? How this custom which made true repentance of the heart the first requisite could be an encouragement of vice? How reconciliation to heaven and satisfaction to the injured neighbor could be a device of crime and superstition?

I do, with all due humility, suggest to the editor of the *Review*, that the people of this Union are not now to be misled by words; that the mind of America looks for facts; and that, so far as the Catholic religion is concerned, mere school declamation, and rounded periods, and degrading epithets of abuse prettily strung together will not serve for information. The mind that in South America conceived and carried through the mighty work of its useful revolution is not so puerile as to permit superstition and crime to domineer over a land which it has emancipated. Nor is the mind which is awake and healthfully energetic and now putting forth its vigor in this favored land so sunk in the prejudices of Great Britain as to be led by a cry of "No Popery," and to believe that everything which was described as horrible and superstitious, is such in fact, merely because the pilgrims said so.

We will give the reviewer leave to designate all the Catholic creed folly and all its discipline superstition, if he will, but I assure him that he is grossly in error if he believes that creed or that discipline encourage vice or engender crimes. Upon close examination, he will find both theory and fact against his imagination.

We believe the suffrages of the living are beneficial to the dead who are in need of them and capable of being relieved. We do not believe the saints in heaven need those suffrages. We do not believe the reprobate in hell are capable of relief. We believe the souls in purgatory do need aid and may be assisted. But though we know this general doctrine, we cannot know the fact that a particular individual is in purgatory, nor what special quantity of

prayer or other suffrage would be adequate to full relief. It is true that God does know, and may inform us if He will, but He has not done so, and we are not in every case to expect a special revelation of the fact. Such a revelation would be an extraordinary interference. The Church teaches the general doctrine; the Church does not know the special fact: no individual or body in the Church can tell who is in purgatory, nor what suffrages would be adequate to release one sufferer therefrom. A dark curtain divides us from the world of spirits. Our mighty Father could shoot the beam of knowledge through the immense mass of clouds if He would; but He does not. His voice has penetrated through the chaos, and by the words of revelation He has taught us the general doctrine, He has exhorted us to the charity of aiding those who suffer, and taught us that our prayer will avail, but He has not informed us to what extent. We then, with eyes suffused with tears, yet lifted in hope, and hands stretched out in supplication, offer for our departed friends the suffrages of our prayers, of our works, of our piety, and through the merits of Christ we beseech for them a speedy release from the house of bondage. The Bula de Defuntos is a suffrage of this sort, applicable to the aid of those capable of being assisted, but giving no certainty of release.

The reviewer will probably smile at our superstitious infatuation in praying for the dead. We look upon it to be an injunction of heaven, and we do not envy him the coldness, the barrenness, the desolation of his mock philosophy, whilst we indulge, under the sanction of God's revelation, the holiest propensity of our nature, by which the charities of religion and the feelings of warm affection are made to survive within us, and even after their object has faded to our view, after the worm has consumed all that was mortal of our friends, we still commune in the language of spirits, and feel how strongly the bonds of religion can unite those whom the desolations of nature have severed.

But the reviewer is grossly incorrect when he affirms that this bull was indispensable to rescue the departed souls from purgatory; it is not indispensable, and it could not be obtained except in the Spanish dominions; so that, if his proposition was true, no one but a Spaniard could ever be rescued from purgatory.

The poor people, whom he describes in mock commiseration, knew well that this was no passport, though their affection and their piety might have made them anxious to obtain every species of relief.

III.

I now come to the most serious part of the charge against our religion and the gross portion of the libel. I shall insert the fact charged upon us.

"4. The Bull of Composition which released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner. One slight condition, it is true, was attached to this bull, which was, that the person, when stealing, had not been moved thereto by any forethought of the virtue of a bull to make the property his own and his conscience white. Bating this small condition, the bull converted all stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief. It had the power, moreover, to correct the moral offences of false weights and measures, tricks and fraud in trade; and, in short, all these little obliquities of principles and conduct to which swindlers resort to rob honest people of their possessions. 'It assures the purchaser,' says Depons, 'the absolute property in whatever he may obtain by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows.' The price of these bulls depended on the amount of goods stolen; but it is just to add that only fifty of them could be taken by the same person in the year."

I never read a more unfounded and libellous paragraph than the above. It distinctly exhibits the Roman Catholic Church as entering into partnership with thieves and rob-

bers, and undertaking, for a share of the plunder, to whiten their consciences. When the reader shall have seen the true state of things, let him judge for himself. I must again lay down Catholic principles before I can explain the facts.

We believe that the Church has no power to deprive any man of his property; for when our Lord established the Church, the authority which He gave was not temporal, but spiritual. We believe that no man has power to remit to another a debt which he owes, unless the debt be owing to him who remits it. Composition being a species of remission, we of course do not believe the Church has any power to make a composition with a debtor, and remit to him what he owes to another who is his creditor, or who has been injured by him, for this would be to exercise over property a dominion which God has never bestowed upon the Church. We believe that no man who has injured his neighbor in his property or character, can be truly contrite for his sin so committed, unless he has the disposition to make all the due satisfaction in his power to the injured neighbor. We believe that without this contrition and satisfaction, the sin will not be remitted by God.

The bull, as I have stated in that part regarding the remission of crimes and penalties, had this express condition: "Modo in casibus in quibus necessaria erit, per ipsos, vel dato impedimento, per hœredes aut alios satisfactio fiat"—"Provided, that in those cases where it shall be necessary, satisfaction be made by them, or they not being able, by their heirs or by others." This is a principle which nothing can subvert; until the last farthing shall be paid, there is no escaping from the judgments of God.

What is the difference of practice between a Protestant and a Catholic on this head, for there is no difference of principle? It is more strict on the side of the Catholic. *I put a* case for elucidation. A Catholic and a Protestant

have been both unjust; each repents. The Protestant feels that he ought to repair the injury; he makes his own estimate, I will admit conscientiously; he restores and prays to God for pardon, determining not to be again unjust. The Catholic repents and goes to confession, he informs a priest who is answerable at the risk of his own soul to decide to the best of his knowledge upon every case. The penitent is examined, the circumstances are weighed, the consequences inquired into. The decision is made by one not interested in diminishing the amount to be restored, by one who is answerable to the tribunal of God for any injustice which he may sanction, by one who has studied morality, and especially the principles of justice and contracts, in order to be able fairly to decide those cases, and to destroy the illusions of self-love in his penitents, to answer the sophistry which the love of money will dictate, and to speak the words of divine justice to the transgressor: after having been advised thus, and having repented and restored, the Catholic seeks pardon from God. I unhesitatingly assert: there is less danger of the Catholic who confesses not making proper satisfaction, than of his being deluded and deceived.

But will not the Bull of Composition enable his confessor to go in shares with him and whiten his conscience? No! Payment to his confesser is not restitution. Giving money to his confessor is no satisfaction for his injustice; neither does he give money to his confessor. I have known much of confession, but I never yet knew of money being paid for it, nor on account of it. But I have known money given to the confessor to be by him paid to the injured party, lest the penitent should be discovered; for a man may repent and make restitution, but is not bound to expose himself; and I have in those cases known the confessor, as he ought to do, procure the receipt of the persons to whom the money was given, which receipt he gave to his penitent to prove that he fulfilled his duty and discharged his trust. A Catholic

finding money given by a penitent to a confessor, knows why it is given; the same act may wear to Protestants a different aspect; most of their prejudices arise from such imperfect judgments.

What then is the Bull of Composition? I must state a few more principles before I can explain.

Sometimes a man has injured his neighbor, and he cannot discover whither the injured person is gone, nor where his children may be found, but the property which he has unjustly obtained is not therefore transferred to him. Sometimes the property to be restored to individuals is but of small amount to each, and the persons to whom restitution should be made are at a great distance, not greatly in need, and not expected to return, and there is no mode of communicating with them, or of transmitting it to them; yet the dishonest possessor cannot retain it. Sometimes the injured person has died leaving no heirs, to whom restitution could be made; yet the possessor cannot retain property which he has unjustly acquired.

A variety of cases of this desciption come repeatedly under the view of the clergymen who hear confessions in our Church. The principles of justice are plain, evident, unchangeable. 1. "Suum cuique tributo"—"Give to every one what belongs to him." 2. "Res clamat domino"—"The property seeks for the master." 3. "Fraus sua nemini patrocinari debet"—"No person should be a gainer by his dishonesty." 4. "Res fructificat domino"—"Property increases for its owner." 5. "Alteri ne feceris quod tibi non fieri vis"—"Do not unto others as you would not wish them to do unto you." Now upon those maxims the confessor cannot admit the penitent to the sacraments until after full restitution shall have been made to the injured person, if the said person can by any reasonable exertion be discovered, and if the penitent can in any way by any fair exertion make it; or being unable now to do so, will *enjoin his* heirs or other friends upon whom he may have *a claim,* to do so. There is no useful receiving of the

sacrament without this, and without the useful receiving of the sacrament, none of the benefits of this bull can be obtained. Thus, where the injured person is known and restitution can be made, it is absolutely and indispensably necessary to make it to himself or to secure it to him. Can I then be blamed at feeling warmly and perhaps almost indignantly on finding the Church to which I have the happiness to belong, and which has always been guided by those principles, traduced and villified, and abused and misrepresented to the American people in such a work as the *North American Review?*

Then is there no composition? Yes, but a very different kind from that which has been stated. Take my first supposition; a man who feels that he has been unjust confesses it. The priest tells him to restore the amount to the owner. The penitent answers that he cannot discover where the owner now is, nor whither he has gone, nor can he find any of his connections. The amount of the injustice is ascertained, and the penitent is told to purchase as many bulls as will cover the sum, and having done so, he exhibits them to the confessor as evidence of his having made the payment. This is called composition. And these are called the Bulls of Composition. Now there are here several indispensable conditions. 1. The penitent must make oath that he has used all diligence to find the injured party or his heirs, and has not been able to discover them nor any of them. 2. The penitent is distinctly informed that if injustice was committed with any view to making the restitution by this composition, it will not release his conscience, because this would be affording room for a malicious disposition to injure a person who ought to be protected, and quieting the conscience of the criminal by paying to the treasury a sum of money of which he defrauded another. This would enable him to gratify his revenge or malice, and produce many other evils. 3. It is restricted to the amount of the price of fifty of those bulls, because it is supposed that although small debts may

be overlooked, or small creditors not be found, still the presumption is, that persons to whom large sums are due could be discovered; and if they cannot, special reference to a higher tribunal than ordinary must be had, for making particular investigation and special composition. 4. Should the injured person be discovered after this composition, and the unjust person find that his composition was not fully made, he is in conscience bound to restore the balance to the injured party. And if the creditor can show that the debtor could have found him by using greater diligence, he can compel him to pay the entire to himself. I apprehend that when all those conditions are fulfilled, the bull is found to have very little efficacy in converting the stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief.

Now as to the power of correcting the moral offences of false weights, etc. The penitent examined before God how much he had gained by his fraud; the confessor having ascertained the amount, told him that, as he injured a community, he must make general restitution, then told him how many bulls to purchase; he bought them, was exhorted to repent, and to ask pardon of God, to have recourse to the means established by Christ for forgiveness, to be honest in future and thus dismissed with his "moral offences corrected," a heart changed, and very little profit of his crimes.

I have not the honor of knowing M. Depons; but I unhesitatingly aver that I can have no respect for the authority of a man, who, with those facts under his eye, could write that the Bull of Composition "assures to the purchaser the absolute property, in whatever he may acquire by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows."

There are two other cases in which the Bull of Composition might be taken. The first, where a clergyman received the income of his place for the performance of spiritual duties, which he neglected to fulfill, or which he fulfilled badly, imperfectly. In this case he was evidently *bound to* restore the goods for which he did not make the *proper* return. He could not take bulls to more than half

the amount, the other half he should return to the fund of the particular church. This was a special case, and is an exception; for upon the general principle he would be bound to return the entire to the injured church, as he knew the defrauded owner, and could reach it, but as the fund created by the bulls was intended for the good of religion, the Church to which the restitution ought to be made consented, by her chief pastor, to give half the proceeds of such restitution to the Crusade treasury.

Another case of exception regards legacies left by the way of restitution for goods badly acquired. The Spanish and civil law both required certain formalities to be gone through within a year from notice received in such cases by the legatees. If they neglected within the year to go through the form, the heirs of the deceased were authorized to pay half the amount to the treasury of the Crusade, by taking bulls or other evidence of the payment, and the bull declared that having thus honestly complied with the provisions of the law, they were in conscience exonerated. But this did not extend to any other species of legacy nor to any other debt.

Having taken this view of the nature of the Bull of Composition, my readers will be better enabled to judge of the true meaning of the following extract:

"That the commissary shall have power to make composition for property unjustly held, also for the moiety of all legacies which are made for things unlawfully taken, if the legatees shall, during a year, have been negligent in making their claims, and for legacies which shall have been found made, or which may be made during the aforesaid year, if the legatees cannot be discovered; also for property unjustly taken, or acquired by usurious wickedness or otherwise badly; if, however, in all those cases (except those of the aforesaid year's neglect), the persons to whom the restitution or payment should be made, cannot be found, (the restorer having made oath that he had used *diligence to find the* legatees or the creditor, and could *by no means find them*)."

Now, in the name of common justice, in the name of religion, in the name of truth and of honor, I ask the reviewer whether this is entering into partnership with thieves and plunderers, to whiten their consciences for a share of the plunder?

But why give the money to the Crusade fund? I shall answer, but first I must explain.

It is now clear that it is a principle of Catholic moralists, as it is of common justice, that no person who unjustly retains what belongs to his neighbor can obtain forgiveness from God unless he shall have made restitution. When the owner is known, it cannot be given to any other person except by his express authority. If a man holds ten dollars belonging to his neighbor, whom he knows, and subscribes one hundred and ten dollars towards building a church or for any other good purpose, meaning to give one hundred as his donation, and to pay the ten on behalf of his injured neighbor, he is not thereby exonerated from the debt of that neighbor; because payment to the Church is not payment to him. He not only still owes the ten dollars, but is, moreover, answerable for all the bad consequences of his unjust retaining of that money. Let him build a hundred churches and hospitals, and take fifty Bulls of Crusades, these ten dollars still remain due; and if the injured person, for want of ten dollars, is cast into prison, or loses the fair opportunity of making a good purchase, the church-builder and bull-buyer is answerable before God for all the consequences. Nothing can weaken the force of this immutable principle of right. The duty of the debtor is to pay his creditor; the right of the creditor is to build churches or buy bulls or fling his money into the fire, as he pleases. The man who assumes to be liberal, or charitable, or pious, with money which does not belong to him, is a rogue—generally the worst *kind of* rogue, a hypocrite.

But another principle of justice is equally clear: when you *are bound* to restore, but cannot find your creditor, this acci-

ent does not give you a right to the fruit of your dis-
onesty. The property is not yours. How is it to be dis-
osed of? In that way which it is reasonably supposed
ould be most agreeable to the creditor. Give to his chil-
ren, or to his relations, or to those whom he used to aid and
erve. You cannot find any of these; you have used proper
ough unavailing diligence. Then follow his presumed will:
ive it to that useful public institution which you believe he
ould himself prefer: give it to the poor, and the alms will,
efore God, be received on his account. But if any nation
as made a public regulation upon the subject, you are to
llow the decision of the law, in preference to your own pri-
ate judgment. Spain has made this public regulation; and
pon that ground the principle in Spain is, "when you
ave injured your neighbor, repent and restore to him his
roperty; if you cannot find him, pay it to the treasury
f the nation, through the commissary of the Bula de
ruzada." The principle in Spain is, "your self-love and
our avarice are likely to delude you in estimating the
mount that you should restore. Go tell your case to a
lergyman who has nothing to gain or to lose, and who
ust therefore be impartial, who is answerable to God for
e decision, and therefore likely to be conscientious, who has
udied the principles of justice, and after examination, been
dmitted to his place, and is therefore likely to be correct.
e guided by him: if you have reason to doubt the correct-
ess of his judgment, go to another, or go to his superior,
nd remember the admonition, 'what will it profit a man
gain the whole world and to lose his own soul?'"

It may, perhaps, be the effect of prejudice, or of partiality
me, but I have always thought this discipline of the
hurch was better calculated to promote the interests of
ociety and of religion, better fitted to protect the property
f individuals, and the morality of the public, than the mere
eneral preaching of the same principles, without the special
pplication of them to individual cases, as practiced in the
hurch.

The only difference between the Spanish dominions and other portions of the Catholic world on this subject, is, that in Spain and its dependencies the precise mode of making this sort of restoration is pointed out: in other places, the person bound to make the restoration has greater room for choice as to what object the money shall be applied; there is no choice as regards the immutable principles of justice.

I have now given to the people of America the true statement of facts, and the correct exhibition of principles, the misrepresentations of both of which formed the groundwork of the flippant abuse and unmeasured language of the reviewer. Let him then look to his own phraseology and say was it deserved, if my statement is correct. For the correctness of that statement I am ready to stand amenable to the tribunal of the candor and investigation of this world, and I stake the salvation of my soul in the next. My asseveration is a solemn appeal to heaven: for we Catholics have been most cruelly ill-treated. Our religion has been accused by those who did not know it, with plundering the people by infamous juggling artifice, to stir up their passions and interests; and even to quicken their crimes, when this could be done with a better prospect of grasping their money. It was accused of "forming a league with the powers of darkness." It was accused "of mocking religion." It was accused "of outraging justice." It was accused "of keeping sixteen millions of people in a barbarous and debasing thraldom." Bear with me, fellow-citizens, for awhile. This charge has been ushered forth under the auspices of your most conspicuous literary chieftain. Are we guilty? Read the proofs against us; read our answer. Too long have you formed your judgments of us upon the exclusive testimony, shall we call it? no! vituperation of our opponents. Hear us; examine us. But before you vilify, listen and reflect.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION PROVED.[1]

A PASSAGE taken from the works of Tertullian, which appears to contradict the doctrine of the Church, on the dogma of transubstantiation, has been sent to me for explanation, by two or three esteemed friends of our communion. It is amongst those adduced by Mr. Ratio, in the *Missionary*, and has been for some time bandied about by a Protestant clergyman of North Carolina, for whom I entertain sentiments of regard. In general I do not consider myself called upon to devote my time to explanations upon every objection to a particular tenet; for if I were so bound, I would no longer be master of myself. But upon the present occasion, I shall take up the passage which has been now adduced against the doctrine for probably the ten-thousandth time within the last three hundred years, because, as far as I can observe, the answer has not reached the objectors nor the Catholics in the present instance.

I must premise a few remarks. Suppose Tertullian did not believe in the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist, but believed that sacrament to be only a figure of Christ's body and blood, should we therefore believe that all the other writers of the same and of the previous and subsequent ages, who did believe in the doctrine of the real presence, taught differently from the Church, and that Tertullian alone believed with the Church? A single name, how great soever, is not authority. Though the doctrine of Tertullian in regard to the Eucharist was in accordance with that of the Church, still at the latter period of his life he fell into the errors of Montanus, and, so far as they went, he differed from the great body of Christians. If, therefore, a passage was found in his works in favor of the figura-

[1] *An Article in the United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. iii, 1824.

tive commemoration, it would no more prove that to have been the true doctrine, than the passages which are found in favor of the Montanist heresy prove that heresy to have been the true doctrine. Such a passage would only prove that the writer held and taught that doctrine.

My next remark is, that when the Catholic writers quote passages from the Fathers, they only produce public, competent witnesses, to testify what was the doctrine of the Church in their day. Suppose Tertullian's works favored the figurative commemoration, and that many and unsuspected teachers of the same age testified the doctrine of the real presence, we should decide by the number and the character of the witnesses, and say that the doctrine of the day was to be found by the testimony of the great body and not that of an individual.

Next: The sense of a writer is not to be gathered from an isolated passage, but from the examination of the writer's object and comparison with several other passages. Any person in the least degree conversant with the rules of sound criticism, must at once perceive that an isolated passage taken without reference to its general object, and the circumstances with which it is accompanied, so far from giving information, will mislead. This reminds me of the man who insisted he could prove atheism to be a Scriptural doctrine, and turning to the 13th Psalm, (14th, Protestant version,) read very distinctly the following words which are found in its first verse: "There is no God." His half discomfited adversary, however, seizing the book, looked eagerly and found the words, it is true, as they were read, but he exultingly read the preceding passage: "The fool hath said in his heart," and gave his opponent the choice between folly and defeat. The man of the strict letter was not, however, to be so easily put down, for he contended that it was not in his heart he said so, but with his lips. To be serious, however: It is clear an isolated passage will not be proof, unless the sense which it has in its separate state be also that which it has in its conjunction with the context.

Another principle of explanation, which every good critic and every honest man adheres to, is, to pay full deference to peculiarities in style of the writer, because the object is not to find what the words can be brought to mean, but what was the meaning of the writer.

These observations being premised, I could furnish from Tertullian's works three other texts which would appear more forcibly to establish the figurative commemoration of the Eucharist than the one in question, and I could produce very few in plain support of our own doctrine; yet I have no doubt that he believed upon this head as we do.

The passage in question is taken from his 4th book against Marcion, and is the following: "Acceptem panem, et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit: Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei." The translation which Mr. Ratio gives of the passage is the following: "The bread being taken and distributed to His disciples, Christ made it His body, saying, This is My body, that is, the figure of My body."

In the first place I object to this translation; not that the words might not be translated so, but because they ought not to be translated so. I do not say that it is not a good syntactical translation of those Latin words as they are found so isolated, but it is not a correct representation of the meaning of Tertullian in that passage. First, the context will not admit this translation as correct; next, the style of Tertullian will prove it incorrect; and thirdly, it would make Tertullian assert what was not the fact.

To take the last. It makes Tertullian assert, that our Saviour said what the Evangelists do not record, and what no person ever asserted the Saviour to have said, viz., that at the institution of the Eucharist Christ added to the words which the Evangelists relate, "This is My body," those other words, "that is, the figure of My body." The good gentlemen who are so anxious to preserve the bare letter of the Scriptures from notes or com-

ment as to threaten us with all the plagues that are written in the Book, if we add one word thereto, ought not even upon the authority of Tertullian to have added five or six words without some scruple of conscience. But, I will be told, they are not added to the Scriptures, they are the explanation of Tertullian. Then it is no crime to add a note to help out the Scriptures, which are so obscure as that therein a body means the figure of a body. I shall be told this is quibbling; I shall soon, I trust, show that it is not. If Tertullian's meaning then was that our Lord said these words, he asserts that which is not true. It will then be admitted that Tertullian does not give them as spoken by our Saviour, but as his own comment. The words of our Lord were, "This is My body," and Tertullian says that by those words He made the bread His body. Mark: Tertullian does not say, Christ by these words, "This is My body," "made the bread His body, that is, the figure of His body." Thus, he neither says that the Saviour used these explanatory words, "that is, the figure of My body," nor does he say that the Saviour made the bread the figure of His body, but he distinctly says, that "He made it His body." But what are we to do with those words, "that is, the figure of My body?" Have they no meaning, no force? Are we to throw them away? Were they not written by Tertullian? I shall keep the words very carefully, and put them into their proper place, because Tertullian wrote them, and his sentence would be very inapplicable to its object without them.

What was his object? To refute Marcion. One of Marcion's errors was that our Saviour had not a real body. Tertullian's object was to prove that Christ had a real body and that in the new law He fulfilled the figures of the old law, by substituting the realities, and in this very place he is proving the fact that Christ had real flesh and blood, from the circumstance that in the *old* law which was a figure of the new there were *several* figures of the body and blood of Christ, which

were all completed by the substitution of the reality of the body in the new for the figure of the body in the old. And in this special place his argument is to the following effect: "In the old law, the bread of proposition, etc., was a figure of the body of Christ, for which He was to substitute the reality in the new law, and He did substitute the reality when at His last supper He took bread and gave it to His disciples, and by the words 'This,' which in the old law was a figure of His body, 'is My body,' made it His body, therefore Christ had a real body and not a figure of a body, for He put His body instead of the figure of His body, which in the old law was bread."

Now I have to show the grounds of my statement. First, there is no question but the error of Marcion was what I state; next, the object of Tertullian was what I state; again, there is no question that his general line of proof is what I have laid down. Then if Tertullian's special argument was not what I have exhibited, his whole passage is nonsense, and so far from refuting Marcion, which all acknowledge he did, his words are without object, connection, or meaning; and so far from doing any violence to his style, I translate it most accurately. Whoever examines his works will discover them to exhibit a rapidity of thought which rushed to give his whole conception and then turned back to explain. This renders his style uneven, sometimes obscure, always crabbed and negligent; because whilst he wrote rapidly, he also endeavored to be concise. I shall adduce one or two instances of his peculiarity of style. In his book against Praxeas he has this passage: "Christus mortuus est, id est unctus." Translated as the passage in the objection is translated by Ratio, it reads, "Christ was dead, that is, anointed;" this is perfect nonsense, for it is asserting death to mean being anointed if it would mean anything. Tertullian first gave his whole proposition, "Christ is dead," then turning back to explain what he before omitted, *but wishes to state*, he adds, "that is anointed."

Where was the omission? After the principal word "Christ." Thus the meaning of his sentence is obviously this. "Christ, that is, the anointed, is dead." Common sense shows this to be the meaning, and this is perfectly intelligible when we know that the word Christ signifies anointed. A little farther on we have this passage: "Id quod est unctum, mortuum ostendit, id est carnem." Now by Mr. Ratio's rule we should translate it thus: "That which is anointed He shows dead, that is, flesh," and by construction dead must mean the same as flesh. But knowing the writer's style makes common sense give us the meaning, "that which is anointed, that is flesh, he shows dead."

By the same rule we translate the passage in question: "Acceptem panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit: Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei:" thus: "That bread which was taken and distributed to His disciples He made His body, saying, This, that is, what was the figure of My body, is My body." In translating it thus I am certain, for many reasons, that I give Tertullian's meaning. First, it agrees perfectly with his style, as we have seen. Secondly, I do not make the writer contradict himself, as the other translation does; for that makes him say that Christ made the bread His body, and then asserts that it was not His body, for it was only the figure of His body. Thirdly, the very words which follow prove my meaning to be that of the writer; those words are: "Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus." Now those words are the conclusion of his argument upon this topic, in this sentence against Marcion, which argument we have before alluded to: "The old law contained figures of the realities of the new law. Bread, in the old law, was a figure of the body of Christ; in the new law, Christ put the reality in place of the figure. He changed the bread which was the figure of His body, into His body, when He said, '*This* is My body.' But it, the bread, would not have been *a figure* of His body, unless that sacrament was the body

of truth." That is, there could have been no figure in the old law, unless there was a reality in the other. The writer's object was to refute Marcion who held, amongst other errors, that Christ had not a body. Unless he admitted that Christ's real body was in the Eucharist, this line of argument would have been ridiculous, for Marcion could have easily retorted: "In the old law bread was a figure of the body of Christ, yet you avow that in the old law Christ had not a body. Now in the new law you say bread is a figure of Christ's body; your argument proves nothing against me, for I only require in the new law what you grant in the old law. In the old law there was a figure in bread and no real body, in the new law there is a figure in bread and no real body." Fourthly, Tertullian takes up for his principle that which was used by St. Paul, viz, that the prophecies of the old law faintly showed the facts of the new; and that the figures of the old law were its facts which were but shadows or types of the facts in the new law. In this same book against Marcion, a little forward, is this passage: "Cur panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion loco cordis habuit non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam; Venite conjiciamus lignum in panem ajus; scilicet crucem in corpus ejus? Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem." "Why He calls bread, and not rather other food which Marcion had instead of a heart, His body, not understanding that that was an ancient figure of the body of Christ, saying by Jeremias: Come let us cast wood upon His bread, to wit, the cross upon His body? Thus the illustrator of intiquities has sufficiently declared what He then wished bread to signify, calling bread His body." The writer shows in a variety of places, that in the old law bread was a figure of the body, and in the passage under consideration he shows Marcion that those figures were fulfilled by placing the reality in their stead. Thus by His words *He made the* bread which in the old law was

the figure of His body, His body, by the words "this is My body," and bread would not have been a figure of His body, if His body was not given under the appearance of the bread. Jeremias foresaw the facts, and tells us that the wood of the cross is to be laid upon the flesh of Christ, when He carried it to the place of His crucifixion. Therefore he says to Marcion, Christ had real flesh upon which that cross was laid as Jeremias prophecied. Fifthly, explaining the prophecy of Jacob, Genesis xlix, he has this passage in the same book and for the same object: "Lavabit in vino stolam suam: et in sanguine uvæ pallium suum, stolam carnem demonstrat, et vinum sanguinem. Ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecravit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit." "He will wash His stole in wine, and His cloak in the blood of the grape. The stole shows the flesh, and the wine the blood. So now, He who then figured wine in blood, has consecrated His blood in wine." The words "figured wine in blood," have according to Tertullian's style, this meaning, "made wine, which is the blood of the grape, a figure of His blood." Tertullian's explanations of this prophecy fully accord with his explanation of the prophecy of Jeremias. The stole shows the flesh: He will wash His flesh in His blood; bread is a figure of His body, wine is a figure of His blood, He makes the bread His body, He has consecrated His blood in wine. The object of the writer was to show that Christ did not destroy the old law, but fulfill its figurative institutions and prophecies; instead of the figure bread, He gave His flesh, instead of the figure wine, He fulfills the prophecy by consecrating blood in wine; this argument against Marcion is then conclusive. Thus the old figures are fulfilled by the substitution of the reality, and Christ has real flesh and real blood, which He gave in place of the old figures.

Thus, from the style of the writer and from his context I find his meaning, and do not quibble upon an isolated paragraph, which might bear to be translated in two or three different ways.

I now take a new view of the question. Tertullian's doctrine was not contradictory to itself upon this subject. It was consistent. Therefore, if I can find in his works other passages which exhibit a doctrine not of figurative but of real presence, it will confirm what I have written, if that confirmation should be necessary.

A few observations as to the circumstances under which he wrote may be necessary to show why the expressions of this and other writers of the same period are so obscure. Christians were under the persecution and were generally cautious of attracting much notice; they were ridiculed and were desirous of avoiding the irritation of their feelings; nothing was more fashionable than to hold up their doctrines and ceremonies to contempt; hence they studiously spoke and wrote in so guarded a manner as to be intelligible to each other, and not to the pagans, except in their apologetic works, and even in those they avoided particulars as much as possible. Thus it is only by a minute knowledge of special facts that their language is frequently to be understood. Tertullian flourished about the year 200. Amongst his works are two books to his wife. In the second he is stating the inconveniences which arise from a Christian wife being wedded to a pagan husband, and amongst others he mentions that which will arise from the difficulty of her receiving Communion: for she must altogether abstain from the Eucharist, or else it must be exposed to the contempt of her husband.

To understand the ground of his difficulty, we must advert to a custom which existed in those times of persecution. Christians who were faithful and approved of, were frequently permitted to take home the holy Eucharist, under the appearance of bread only, and keep it, lest upon the sudden breaking out of a persecution they might be deprived of their clergy, or lest they might be seized upon, and in order to give them the opportunity of Communion in either case, they were allowed to keep the holy Sacrament. Tertullian then expresses his difficulty

thus: "Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes; et si sciverit, panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur"—"Your husband will not know what you may taste privately, before all food; and if he shall know, he believes it to be bread, not Him who is said to be there." The guarded phraseology of Tertullian is sufficiently intelligible to one who has been taught that it is not bread, but Him, viz., Christ, who is there in the Sacrament which, then and now, in our Church was and is taken before all food, fasting, according to a discipline introduced originally by St. Paul, at Corinth, to remedy an evil which he describes.[1]

Tertullian's difficulty could have been easily removed by a wife who could tell her husband: "This is sanctified bread, which is to me a figure to remind me of the principal doctrine of my belief." There would be nothing in this which her pagan husband could not as fully believe as she could. But it would be very difficult indeed for her to persuade a pagan that it was Christ who was there, and her faith would be put to many trials by his contempt of her supposed folly; and the object of the writer was to guard against those trials of her faith.

In his book "De Corona Militis," he mentions a few of the customs of Christians. Amongst them he states the great anxiety of the faithful to guard against any falling of a particle, or shedding of a drop from the chalice, evidently upon the principle and in conformity with the decree of Pope Pius I, who presided over the Church from the year 142 to 157. The following is the extract from the decree: "Si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine Domini stillaverit in terram, lingua lambetur, et tabula radetur, si non fuerit tabula, ut non conculcatur, locus corradetur, et igne consumatur, et cinis intra altare recondetur, et sacerdos quadraginta diebus pæniteat. Et si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam et tribus diebus pæniteat," etc.—"If through negligence any *of the blood* of the Lord shall have dropped upon the *ground, let* it be licked up with the tongue, and the

[1] 1 Cor., c. xi, v. 20.

board be scraped. If there be no board, that it should not be trodden upon, let the place be scraped up, and the scrapings burned with fire, and the ashes be laid up within the altar, and let the priest do penance during forty days. If the chalice shall have left a drop upon the altar, let him who administers suck it up and do penance during three days," etc.

Origen, who lived nearly at the same period as Tertullian, in his 13th Homily on Genesis, explaining chapter 25, has these words: "Nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuevistis, quomodo cum suscipitur corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione, servatis ne ex eo parum quid decidat," etc.—"You who are accustomed to be present at the divine mysteries know how, when the body of the Lord is taken, you keep it with all caution and veneration lest the smallest particle should fall," etc.

It will not then be doing any violence to the passage of Tertullian, to explain its meaning by the law which regarded the custom and by the more distinct testimony of Origen, whom we may call his contemporary.

In Tertullian's book "On the Resurrection," he uses as an argument in proof that our bodies will arise, from the topic that the sacraments must all come in contact with the body, before the soul will receive their benefit. The following is one passage: "Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur ut anima consecretur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima saguinetur"—"The flesh is washed that the soul might be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul might be consecrated; the flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ that the soul might be nourished." In this place his argument would not have any force, nor would his words have their meaning if the flesh being fed with the body and blood of Christ, meant only the flesh is fed with bread, which is a figure, because still it would be only bread, and not the body of Christ.

To understand the next passage, we must be aware of the mode in which Communion was then given. The

communicants held a small clean cloth of linen on the palm of the right hand, the Sacrament was laid upon this, and they conveyed It themselves to the mouth. Tertullian in his book on "Idolatry," reproving those who gave the Sacrament into the hands of those who made idols in the way of their trade, has the following passage: "Proh scelus! Semel Judæi Christo manus intulerant, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt. O! manus præscindendæ," etc.—"Oh, wickedness! The Jews once had laid hands upon Christ, these men every day abuse His body. Oh, hands which should be cut off," etc.

There is another passage in the first book of this writer, against Marcion, which is quoted to show that he held the figurative sense. Speaking of the Eucharist it states: "Nec panem, quo ipsum suum corpus repræsentat"—"Nor the bread with which He represents His own very body." Thus we are told the bread was by this writer stated to represent His body, that is to be a figure of His body, therefore not His body. The question here is, how the word "repræsentat" ought to be translated. No doubt it can be rendered into the English word represents, but the question really is not how it can, but how it ought to be translated. I say the verb "repræsentat" may be translated, "correctly exhibited" or "presented;" I could adduce many classical passages to prove this; but the question is, what was Tertullian's meaning? We find him use the word again in his 4th book against Marcion; in this passage stating the testimony of the voice of the eternal Father from heaven, testifying for the Son on Thabor. "Itaque jam repræsentans eum: Hic est filius meus dilectus," etc.—"Therefore now representing Him: this is My beloved Son," etc. Tertullian could not mean that it was a figure of Christ and not the real Christ which was upon Thabor, especially when his object was to prove that Christ had a real body; the word "repræsentat" must then be translated "exhibited" or "presented." We will then have the Father presenting His Son on *Thabor,* by His testimony, and we will have Jesus Christ

not representing a figure of His body in His bread, but presenting His body therein.

I feel that I have been very tedious, but I was desirous to show that the testimony of our Church is not that little quibbling carping at possible translations of ambiguous passages, but the result of deep research, close examination, accurate comparison, and the full investigation of facts. Thus I thought it but right to show that although a few ambiguous passages might be adduced to throw doubts upon the fact that our doctrines were held by all the Fathers, still it would be folly in me to fill up my paper with critical exhibitions like the present upon every one of those which might be adduced. From the respectability of some of the applications on the present occasion, I thought myself called upon to give this article.

I shall add but one topic before I hasten to its conclusion. Tertullian was never suspected by his contemporaries nor by the writers since his day of having erred upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, though he did err with the Montanists. Now if he taught, as the Sacramentarians do, the doctrine of only a figurative presence, he would have been as speedily arraigned and convicted for that as for his Montanist errors, by the host of writers whom I can adduce in the age in which he lived, and those ages which have since elapsed, teaching as we do. Yet they are all silent as to this alleged error of his respecting the Eucharist. They all assumed and believed that he taught as they did, and they taught not a figurative but a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament.

My facts then are—1. That Tertullian did in some passages plainly teach the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That in describing some circumstances regarding the Sacrament, he alludes to those customs and laws which existed amongst the persons who held the doctrine of the real presence, and with whom he was in accord upon the subject. 3. That the passages which appear to favor the

figurative meaning do so only when translated in contradiction to his style of writing, and taken in an isolated way. 4. That those same passages, translated in accordance with his style, and paying due regard to the context, support the doctrine of the real presence. 5. That if he did not hold the doctrine of the real presence, his arguments against Marcion, which were universally acknowledged to be powerful, conclusive and unanswerable, would have no force or value. 6. That if those passages support the figurative sense, Tertullian has been guilty in those books of many self contradictions. And 7. That he was charged with no error on this score by those writers who, in his day and during 1,300 years afterwards, read his works, and believed the doctrine of the real presence.

Whence I conclude that Tertullian did hold the doctrine of the real presence, and that those passages which are adduced from his writings as opposed thereto, have not the meaning which is attempted to be put upon them by those persons who adduce them against us.

AMERICAN CATHOLICITY.

I.

I AM led, after much reflection, to enter more at large into this subject, than was my original intention; and in the details which I give, and the views that I take, several friends for whom I have the highest esteem may not fully concur; but I consider it to be my duty to write as I think, and should I make any erroneous statement, to give the opportunity for its correction; and if my views be erroneous, I beg of my friends to set me right.

I have been long under the impression, that not only in Europe, but even in the United States, very delusive fancies have been entertained of the progress of the Catholic Church in our Union, and even many mistakes as to the means most conducive to its propagation. I have no doubt upon my mind that, within fifty years, millions have been lost to the Catholic Church in the United States, nor do I believe that the fact has been sufficiently brought into notice, nor the proper remedies as yet applied to correct this evil. This is not the time, nor this the place, to state what efforts have been made to draw attention to the mischief and to what was thought to be a remedy; nor is it intended to insinuate by this, that there was in any quarter a want of zeal and devotion to religion on the part of any persons concerned, though they may differ in their views.

To any one who for a moment calmly considers the question nothing can be more plain than that, instead of an increase of the members naturally belonging to the Catholic Church in the United States, there has been actually a serious loss.

[1] This article consists of a communication made to the Propagation Society in Lyons, *France, dated September 28, 1836.*

The question is not whether the number of Catholics in the country has actually increased: because to answer this you have only to look at the cities and the towns, and everywhere you have the strongest and most irrefragable evidence of accession of numbers, in the thousands who rise up before you. There can be no doubt of the multiplication of missions and of priests, of the erection of churches, of the opening of colleges, of the creation of monasteries, of the amelioration of schools, of the establishing of printing presses, and of the dissemination of books, however injudiciously the publishers may have acted in several instances. I do not then mean to say that the number of Catholics is this day less than it was fifty years ago, nor as small as it was five years since; but I do assert that the loss of numbers to the Catholic Church has been exceedingly great, when we take into account the Catholic population at the time of the American Revolution, the acquisition of territory previously occupied by Catholics, the arrivals of Catholic immigrants, and the conversions to the Catholic religion.

I submit the following rough estimate as calculated to give a notion of this loss: Fifty years ago the population of the United States was three millions; to-day it is fifteen millions. I shall suppose the natural increase of the original three to give us seven millions of our present number; this will leave us eight millions of immigrants and their descendants, together with those obtained by the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida. Of the population acquired by immigration and by cession, we may estimate at least one-half to have been Catholics: and supposing the children to have adhered to the religion of their parents, if there were no loss we should have at least four millions of Catholics from these sources, without regarding the portion which was Catholic fifty years ago, and its natural increase and the many converts and their descendants. Yet there are many who *this day* are well informed upon the subject of our *churches,* who doubt if we have one million of Catholics.

Four years since my estimate was little more than half a million. Upon my first arrival in the United States, in 1820, I saw in a public document, coming from a respectable source, the estimate to be 100,000, and this favorable, and from a gentleman by no means unfriendly. I have since then made more close inquiries, taken more special notice of details, and received better information, and I think the estimate may be safely fixed at 1,200,000. This is indeed a plain and simple view, and, as has been justly remarked, coincides pretty accurately in the result to which it would lead, with the estimate that I formerly gave of the number of descendants of Catholics, who in the Diocese of Charleston are found in the various sects. If I say, upon the foregoing data, that we ought, if there were no loss, to have five millions of Catholics, and that we have less than one million and a quarter, there must have been a loss of three millions and three-quarters at least; and the persons so lost are found amongst the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country. I estimate the Catholics of my diocese at less than 12,000, and the descendants of Catholics in the various sects at about 38,000 or 40,000. The coincidence of the results creates a strong probability, it is indeed presumptive evidence, of the correctness of each estimate. And we may unhesitatingly assert, that the Catholic Church has, within the last fifty years, lost millions of members in the United States.[1]

Upon every view which I can take of this subject, and during several years I have endeavored to examine it very closely, I have been led, in a variety of places at several epochs, to special details which have been partial causes of this great and long-existing evil; but however their several causes may seem to differ, and under what peculiar circumstances soever they may have arisen, I consider they may generally be reduced to the one great

[1] The Catholic population of the United States to-day is estimated at between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000. There are those who say it ought from natural increase and immigration *be at least 20,000,000.*

head, viz.: The absence of a clergy sufficiently numerous and properly qualified for the missions of the United States.

Before I shall proceed farther, I shall try to unmask one of the most fatal errors that I have observed on this subject.

The mind of Europe has been led to undervalue the nature of American institutions, and to look upon the society of the United States as considerably under the standard of that in Europe. So far as religion, and especially the ministry, is concerned, this mistake has not seldom led to very pernicious results. Frequently in European companies, where upon most other topics I could receive great accessions to my little stock of knowledge, I have been led to doubt whether I heard correctly the very strange questions that were addressed to me respecting our laws, our manners, our society, our institutions, and our habits. I was often obliged to avoid enlarging upon the topics, and more than once to evade the questions upon the very painful conviction that it would be worse than useless to give information to those who were determined not to believe. They could very readily admit all that I chose to say about Indians, huts, lakes, wild beasts, serpents, assaults, murders, and escapes, but it was out of the question that my assertions would be equally well received if I insinuated that anything in legislation, manufactures, literature or the polish of society was comparable to even what was ordinary on the other side of the Atlantic. In fact it would seem as if a century had rolled away, and had left America and Europe in precisely the same relative position as to improvement, as they were when the first European adventurers undertook to stem the torrent of the Mississippi, making a tedious and exhausting effort to overcome, in six months, the obstacles of a voyage which now is little more than an excursion of a few days in a steamboat. The result of this notion was that anything was good enough for America; and *the Catholic* Church has frequently felt the effects of this

take. It has more than once happened that men with uirements and manners scarcely fit for Indians, have n deemed fit for any part of this region of Indians, were thus inconsiderately sent into the midst of a imunity at least equally intelligent and penetrating inquiring as any in the world.

The best way to give some correct notions upon the ject of which I treat, will be to draw an historical tch of the Catholic religion in the regions which now n the territory of the United States. That view must, course, be general, and very rapidly taken, and, for sake of greater accuracy, it must be divided into eral epochs, according to the various changes, whether government or of other institutions or circumstances, t effected their religious position.

These regions consist of three distinct portions. First, se places which were under Protestant dominion from time of their discovery until the period of the erican Revolution. Secondly, those places which had, to that period, been chiefly, if not altogether, under dominion of Catholic powers. And thirdly, that great ion to the west of Missouri and the lakes, which was, in a great measure, still is, the wild domain of the ian, who knows little of either.[1]

II.

The first portion includes the New England States, : Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, de Island and Connecticut, which form the present cese of Boston: New York, Delaware, New Jersey, nsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Vir-ia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and the greater portion Alabama. The English and the Dutch were the ginal settlers of most of those regions. Great Britain y be regarded as the possessor from their colonial nation, the Dutch having held possession of New York New Jersey only during a short period; and the

[1] *It is curious to read this statement of 1836 with the development of 1884 before one.*

principle of religious administration, as respected Catholics, having been the same under each.

The second portion embraces Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, part of Michigan (since this was written, Wisconsin and Iowa have been established), Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and a portion of Alabama. Of this extensive territory, France and Spain had possession, whether conjointly or successively. It is unnecessary, for my present purpose, to notice the immense range of territory which stretches off westward from these States, and which forms the third division.

Before proceeding to notice the actual condition of this second portion, at the several periods when its various regions passed away from the dominion of the Catholic powers, I deem it necessary to make a short statement of what I have been informed was, and in many instances continues to be, the system of France and of Spain respecting religion in those colonies. I cannot vouch for the truth of my information, and, should I have been misinformed, I shall feel very happy at having my misstatements corrected.

The policy of France was, not to permit the establishment of a bishop in her colonies, but to procure from the Holy See, that a priest should be appointed prefect apostolic, with quasi-episcopal power and detached jurisdiction, to superintend the other clergy and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. I know, from my own observation, that such is the mode of administration in most of her colonies. (Algiers is an exception since this document was drawn up). To various inquiries that I made for the reason of this policy, I was told that it was adopted in order not to embarrass the governor, by creating so high a dignitary as a bishop; and who should necessarily receive the great attention which such officers are known to pay to prelates; and not to expose bishops to the indignity that might be the consequence of any neglect of the superior colonial officers, should it be possible that any of them could so far forget what was due to religion,

as to be wanting in proper civility to the bishop. It is not my business to canvass the value of the reason alleged; but I feel quite at liberty to observe that the natural consequence of this palpable departure from the polity established by our Saviour and acted upon by the Apostles, has generally been the destruction of discipline amongst at least the secular clergy who were affected thereby: and if we are to believe one-fourth of what is generally credited respecting that discipline in the French colonies previous to 1790, this statement would be fully sustained.

I am here called upon to draw a contrast between what is known to have been the state of the Canadian colony, in which there was a bishop established at Quebec, and those places which were administered by prefects apostolic. In Canada religion was respectably sustained, the faith preserved, discipline flourished: a clergy was maintained and perpetuated; and an edifying body of priests and people continued firmly attached to their ancient institutions, and virtuously fulfilling their duties, even under a government hostile to their faith, and using its best efforts to undermine their religion. Justice also obliges me to testify, that from what I have seen and learned in Guadeloupe, during a short visit to that island in 1833, I found that, notwithstanding the defects of the system, the excellent prefect and his clergy were meritoriously regular and zealous, and that religion had proper respect from the sensible and judicious governor of that colony.

Not only is this system calculated to do a serious injury to discipline, but in some colonies the priests are at so great a distance from their superior, as to be seldom, if ever, under his supervision. In many instances, a great portion of the colonists are persons, who, not being able conveniently to remain in the mother country, repair to those distant settlements to escape inconvenience or to retrieve their fortune. They are not, then, the most healthy moral *portion of* the population. Amongst such

a people it is no ready task for a clergyman, under the most favorable circumstances, to make great progress in the work of reformation, or to preserve himself unstained.

Spain had not that semblance of respect for the episcopal character, which would prevent her having bishops established in her colonies. But they were necessarily few and very distant; and though numbers of them are said to have been excellent men, yet it was believed that several others were persons whom the government that presented them did not like to set aside from promotion, but did not wish to see wearing mitres in Europe. It is also said that in many instances, in the French as in the Spanish colonies, priests that would not be tolerated in the mother country, forced their way into places for which they were by no means qualified. Thus, in those regions where the clergy wanted most rigid superintendence, there was the least efficient discipline. This may perhaps account for the situation in which the Churches of Louisiana and Florida were at the period of their cession to the United States. To my own knowledge, there was in Florida but one single efficient priest, who, not liking the change, retired to Cuba, and subsequently to Ireland, of which he was a native. I have heard nearly a similar account of Louisiana. So that when they were transferred to the United States, those regions contained an uninstructed and neglected population professing the Catholic religion, without Catholic customs or religious knowledge, nearly bereft of a Catholic clergy. A large portion of this mass consisted of negro slaves.

In no country where slavery exists was there, I believe, a better system of legal provisions for the religious and moral cultivation of this class, than in the Spanish possessions; nor do I think there could be, generally speaking, a better mode devised for preventing some of the worst consequences to morality and religion, which are unfortunately almost inseparable from slavery in the colonies, than that which Spain had adopted, perhaps devised. This, however, was for many years a dead letter in the

places of which I write, whilst under the latter days of Spanish dominion, and under the occasional possession by France, neither the legal provisions, nor the moral system, nor any substitute for either, was in existence. These considerations, taken together with the former remarks, will enable the readers of this paper to form some opinion of what sort of Catholic population was added to that of the United States by the cession of Louisiana and of Florida. No sooner did they become portions of this country, than all religious denominations and preachers of all opinions poured rapidly into those places, where larger bodies of untouched land offered the hope of greater returns for their industry.

Long previous to the American Revolution, whilst Britain yet held our States as colonies, Canada was ceded by capitulation to the crown of England. At that period, the Catholic missionaries had their congregations upon the Wabash, the Illinois, and other places which form the States of Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. The red man, induced to leave the superstition and the idolatry of his fathers, worshiped God in spirit and in truth, partaking of the sacraments of our Redeemer with full faith, humble confidence and tender piety. But, soon after this transfer was effected, the missionary was obstructed, and the children of the forest, yet tenacious of their creed, wept by the side of the father of rivers, and mingled their lamentations with the wailings of the wind, upon witnessing the desolation of their rude but venerated altars. The axe of the backwoodsman has felled the forest, the bounding deer has migrated towards the setting sun, the ploughshare has furrowed the surface of the land, cities have arisen, the power of steam has overcome the resistance of the waters, the bones of the ancient worshipers have mouldered into dust; but still Kaskaskia and many a similar spot exhibit to us the ruins of those early Christian schools, where the Ottawa and the Illinois and the Pottowattomie exchanged their wampum and smoked their calumet and buried their hatchet; whilst their eyes

shed unwonted tears at the recital of the sorrows of the Son of God. England became the mistress of these lands, and caused the Christian sacrifice to be taken away. The Revolution soon followed; and the American eagle, whilst he rose in the vigor of youth and the joy of victory, beheld no Catholic worship in the regions which oppression, strife and war had now made desolate. The mighty wilderness was left to become the habitation of successive immigrants from the East, who have produced the changes to which I have alluded.

III.

I have now to draw attention to those places, which, from their original settlement, were under Protestant domination. They are to be considered as seriously differing from each other in a religious point of view. New England was settled, it is true, under English authority and by English Protestants, but they were not of the English Church; they were the Puritans, who complained that "the Reformation," as it is fashionable amongst some to call the great religious defection of the Sixteenth century, was by no means sufficiently perfect in England. They complained that several anti-Scriptural doctrines were retained in the established Protestant religion of that country, and that very many of its usages and ceremonies were superstitious, anti-Christian and idolatrous. They were driven from England by Protestant persecution. They first went to Holland, where they looked for more congenial opinions; they felt, even there, great disappointments, and then set out for this new world, to colonize a region which they had procured from the British crown, and for the occupation of which they made some settlement with the Indians.

The Puritans were inimical to the Church of England, and they would not permit those who differed from them in religious opinions to remain in their colony; and as *differences* of this description necessarily must arise *amongst* all those who adopt the principle of individual

inalienable right to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, they had in process of time their differences, persecutions, and separations into various colonies, but all agreed in a common determination of not tolerating Catholics. We may say the same of their Dutch neighbors, who settled in New Amsterdam, now called New York, and in a part of New Jersey, and when the English succeeded the Dutch in their dominion over those regions, they unflinchingly adhered to a similar principle.

Virginia was a common name given at that period to the entire region which comprises not only that State, but also the Carolinas and the whole of the then unknown wilderness stretching away to the west, and going south to the unascertained boundaries of what was called Florida. In this region, the settlers professed the religion of the English Protestant Established Church, and embodied during their infancy in their code all the ferocious laws of England against the Catholics. A spirit of mutual animosity and a practice of mutual persecution caused New England and Virginia, though colonized from the same country, to cherish animosity and rancorous dislike towards each other.

Meantime, a small body of English Catholics, with whom a few Irish of the same religion associated, came over with Lord Baltimore, who, because he was a Catholic, was obliged to leave his country. They settled in Maryland, upon lands of which he had obtained a grant, and for governing the colony of which he had a charter. This little Catholic society made perfect religious liberty for every Christian the basis of their legislation, and were the first who gave the example of establishing religious freedom at this side of the Atlantic. After various efforts of the Virginians for their ruin or expulsion, they were permitted to remain in peace. In a short time the colony became prosperous, and the Virginian Dissenter and the New England Protestant Episcopalian, flying from the persecution with which each worried the other, were hospitably received by the Marylander, and not only pro-

tected in their civil rights, but admitted to a full participation of political power; and it was thus that Maryland, Catholic Maryland at that time, led the way to the temple of religious liberty and to the concord of brethren.

Very soon after this, a number of Quakers accompanied William Penn to the colony which he undertook to establish between Maryland and New Jersey. In this new settlement, there was no law to punish any man for his religious opinions; but it was not till after a considerable lapse of time that any Catholic had settled there.

The revolution which took place in England, in 1641, having placed the Presbyterians and other Calvinists in power, its influence extended to the colonies; and within less than a quarter of a century from the period of their arrival, the Catholics of Maryland found themselves deprived of their civil, religious, and political rights, and overwhelmed by a band of strangers who, flying from each others' cruelty, were received into this asylum of Christian charity, and they now united to oppress and to persecute the Catholics who had given them a shelter and a home. The laws which were passed subsequently in England against Catholics under Charles II, and by which they were stripped of most of the remnant which they held after the tyrannical persecution of the cruel Elizabeth and of the cold-blooded, hypocritical pedant, James I, as well as the robberies of the succeeding period, now were made of force in the colonies, and vigorously carried into effect. Nor did the new legislators of Maryland deem the subsequent barbarous additions made under the heartless Anne sufficient: they devised and introduced others, as if to show their greater ingenuity in adding the last affliction which could perfect the malice of the British enactments.

Probably it will not be amiss here, to advert a little to the character of one of those laws which, to the ordinary reader, would not otherwise appear in their true *position*, and which, by reason of unfortunate prejudices, *are not* duly appreciated by all who peruse them. They

appear to be laws merely relating to Irish servants arriving in the colony. Their true nature can be known only by looking into the history of Ireland itself, that we may there learn who these servants were; nor will this be without an important bearing upon what regards, this day, the missions of the United States, and perhaps of many other distant regions.

It is notorious, that when in the excess of his rage, and filled with the spirit of revenge, Henry VIII, of England, compelled his parliaments to legalize his innovations in religion, very little was effected in Ireland. Numbers of old and settled families in such parts of that country as acknowledged its subjection to the English crown were firmly attached to their religion. They, together with the whole body of the Irish that yet preserved their independence, continued steadfast adherents to the Catholic Church. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, her interest, as well as her pride, forced her to separate England from the Holy See. (Rome could not acknowledge the right of heirship in the issue of a notorious adultery). Her father's imperious spirit dwelt fully and powerfully in her soul, and her parliaments were her crouching slaves. Secure of England, she sought to complete the conquest of Ireland, not only by reducing to her obedience that portion which was not as yet under her dominion, but also by forcing her newly made religion upon all the inhabitants. The descendants of the ancient Irish and English settlers were alike ordered to lay aside the religion of their fathers, and to practice that which the queen had framed. Many of the Irish chieftains were unwilling to bend their necks to the yoke, and the whole body of the people refused to give up their faith or to forsake their altars. The history of her partial success is an account of perfidy, of famine, of blood, and of woe. Confiscation of their lands, loss of their titles, beggary, exile, or death were the portion allotted to those who remained faithful to their God. The tragedies enacted by Elizabeth's cruel officers scarcely find a parallel. Yet her power did not extend as far as *her malevolence.*

James I succeeded to her throne, and without the abilities of Elizabeth, he pursued the path which she had opened. For Ireland he was a disastrous despot. Whole provinces were made desolate, and colonies of Presbyterians were introduced from Scotland to occupy those lands from which the Irish Catholics had been swept with a besom of destruction. They are the "Scotch-Irish." Charles I succeeded to James, and with increased ruin to the desolated land. Europe was appalled at the horrors that had been perpetrated, and looked with execration on the authors of the calamities of this devoted country. The oppressors, in order to create some semblance of excuse, added calumny to their other crimes, and that the world might be induced to imagine that there was some justifying ground for their cruelty, the Irish nation was said to be stupid, cruel, barbarous, ignorant, and intractable: every bad quality was imputed to them, merely because they were faithful to their religion, and tenacious of their property and their rights. It is indeed true it could soon be said that they were poor, because they were plundered; and they were then called a beggarly rabble. Still the fastnesses of the country offered an asylum to a few of the ancient princes of the land and their impoverished adherents, who were thus forced into the semblance of outlawed brigands.

England had lost her hierarchy. Ireland saw her cathedrals and her other church property in the hands of men intruded by force and protected by armies of mercenaries, who vituperated and blasphemed that religion for whose service those cathedrals were erected and that property consecrated. Though she could not save the temporalities of her prelates from the grasp of their persecutors, nor always protect themselves from assassination or prison, yet she preserved their succession. It is well known that many suffered martyrdom, and multitudes made glorious confessions of their faith; but their fidelity to heaven was made treason to the government. "This man is no friend to Cæsar." The Catholic clergy were from that

day to the present denounced by the sycophants of their oppressors, and by their dupes and their tools, as agitators and conspirators, plotting and exciting the people to sedition.

Cromwell sprang from the scaffold of the unfortunate persecutor, who is ludicrously styled in the English liturgy, "King Charles the Martyr," to the domination which is called a protectorate; and with him fanaticism, hypocrisy, and rapine enjoyed their day of triumph. His myrmidons overran Ireland, penetrated to almost all its recesses, despoiling most of those who had escaped former plunderers, and stripping even those who, under the Tudor and the Stuart, had been enriched by the robbery of the Catholics. A more mean and voracious horde was never poured upon any other region, than were the soldiers of this revolutionary English army, who now were put into possession of a large bulk of the land of Ireland; and to these the unfortunate Irish Catholics were made hewers of wood and drawers of water. This epoch in Ireland corresponds with that of the plunder of the Catholics of Maryland, by authority of the same power that raised to possession of the wealth of Ireland the gang of unprincipled adventurers who overspread that country. I do not recollect more than two branches of any respectable Irish families that have preserved any of their property by apostacy: these are a younger branch of the O'Neills, in the North, now decorated with an English title, and one sept of the O'Briens, at the South, now known by the title of Thomond, but better known in Irish by the appellation of *Totane*, from the incendiarism and plunder of some monasteries. If there were others, they were not worthy of notice.

It is human nature, that they who by such a process get into elevated situations should strive to make the world believe that the persons, into whose places they have made their way, were not worthy to hold them. This horde rose into wealth and power upon the principle of abolishing nobility and titles of distinction, as incom-

patible with the laws of God and the rights of man. Upon the restoration of Charles II to the British throne, they changed sides in order to secure their possessions; and they made interest at court by the most perfect obsequiousness, and often by the meanest servility, to procure titles of nobility; and in process of time their children became the most conspicuous members of the peerage of Ireland.

The next blow which the Irish Catholics received was, when upon the flight of the unfortunate James II they capitulated and received William and Mary as their sovereigns, upon the condition of enjoying religious liberty. Previous to this, the troops of William were arrested at the walls of Limerick; the unaided Irish forces rendered the issue of the contest exceedingly doubtful. The English and Dutch commanders were privately instructed to come to any arrangement that would not be greatly mischievous or dishonorable, and the treaty was drawn up, but the articles were not yet subscribed, when the Catholics were informed that the fleet of France, with abundant aid, was at the mouth of the Shannon; and they were urged to withhold their signatures. They answered, that though their names had not been affixed, their consent had been given and their honor was engaged. They trusted to the faith and honor of a king: they were doomed to feel the scourging of a parliament chiefly composed of the Cromwellian gentry, and finding that instead of the liberty which they expected upon the faith of their contract, they were doomed to undergo more tyranny than even theretofore, they abandoned themselves to despair; and multitudes of them quitted, with tears of sorrow and of indignation, the land of their fathers.

Many of those exiles for their faith were hospitably received by the kings of France and Spain and by the Catholic powers of Germany. Some of the most ancient and respectable families in Europe have at this day the *blood* of those men flowing in their veins. Some of those *hapless* but voluntary exiles wandered across the Atlantic:

they had heard of a Catholic settlement in Maryland, and they knew not the history of that perfidy which destroyed the principles of its establishment. They cherished the hope that upon a foreign shore they would not meet that contumely and that oppression which were their portion at home. Several of those whose ancestors had enjoyed princely domains during centuries, sought to sustain themselves by laborious industry: of these some engaged, as a compensation for their passage, to work in the new country for a stipulated time at a rate lower than the usual wages. They were thus to redeem their debt by a limited servitude, and were called Irish redemptioners or Irish servants. The laws, now enacted in Ireland, inflicted banishment to a colony and service therein, as a penalty for the crime of practicing many duties of the Catholic religion, and the person transported under those laws were also known as Irish servants.

At the period of which I write negroes were imported from Africa into the British colonies, and a tax was exacted for each slave upon the importer. The legislative body of Maryland of that day stands, I believe, alone and dishonorably conspicuous for having, amongst its other enactments of persecution, sought to degrade still lower the confessor of the faith, by imposing exactly the same tax upon the introduction of an "Irish servant" and the importaton of a negro slave! The Irish Catholic, however, did not find this to be altogether a novelty; for the Protestant parliament of the land that he left had set exactly the same price upon the head of a friar and the head of a wolf, when it sought the extermination of both! Yet there was this notable difference made by the American law between the Africans and the Irish: the negro slave was subject to no penalty for practicing the idolatry of his father's land, while the statute-book was filled with enactments to punish the Irish servant or freeman, if he ventured to worship God with those Christian rites which St. Patrick had peaceably established when he *preached the* doctrine of the Redeemer in the

Emerald Isle. Thus the negro, though a slave, had that religious freedom which was denied to the Irish Catholic, even if he should be free.

Not only, then, did the Irish Catholic find all the laws of persecution, under which he was tortured at home in that land, upon entering which he was degraded and taxed, but even many vexations were superadded.

Without some knowledge of this portion of history, it is impossible to explain, properly, the difficulties which have retarded the progress of the Catholic religion in the United States. The true key to the explanation of many of these difficulties, which bewilder the unobserving, is to be found in a history which is overlooked or undervalued. No one will venture to assert that a generation is unaffected by the position of that which preceded it; and the vast majority of the Catholic population of the United States are descendants of those men, of whose struggles at home for the preservation of their religion and the defence of their country, I have endeavored to trace an outline. England has, unfortunately, too well succeeded in linking contumely to their name in all her colonies; and though the United States have cast away the yoke under which she held them, many other causes combined to continue against the Irish Catholic, more or less, to the present day, the sneer of the supercilious, the contempt of the conceited, and the dull prosing of those who imagine themselves wise. That which more than a century of fashion has made habitual, is not to be overcome in a year, and to any Irish Catholic who has dwelt in this country during one-fourth of the period of my sojourn, it will be painfully plain that, although the evil is slowly diminishing, its influence is not confined to the American nor to the anti-Catholic. When a race is once degraded, however unjustly, it is a weakness of our nature that, however we may be identified with them upon some points, we are desirous of showing that the similitude is *not* complete. You may be an Irishman but not a *Catholic*; you may be Catholic but not Irish; it is clear

you are not an Irish Catholic in either case! But when the great majority of the Catholics of the United States were either Irish or of Irish descent, the force of the prejudice against the Irish Catholic bore against the Catholic religion in the United States; and the influence of this prejudice has been far more mischievous than is generally believed.

IV.

Thus, they who know anything of American history will perceive, that nothing can be more erroneous than the notion, that, at the period of our revolution, Maryland was a Catholic settlement. The descendants of Lord Baltimore had abandoned their religion, and the great bulk of the population at the period of the Declaration of Independence was Protestant of one denomination or another. A few, and but a very few, of the Catholic families had preserved their religion, and a portion of their property. Some of the "Irish servants," as they were called, adhered to the creed of their fathers; few of them, however, had been able to have recourse to its ministry, and still fewer to transmit it to their descendants. The difficulty of obtaining the aid of the ministry was, in most places, exceedingly great, because the clergy being the special objects of the persecuting code, and being very few, they were generally concealed from the zealots who hunted after them from bigotry, and the irreligious who chased them for mere wantonness and sport.

Upon a general principle, which, however correct in theory, yet is frequently found to work mischievously in practice, as these were colonies of Great Britain, they were considered to be in charge of the vicar apostolic of the London district, when such a prelate had been established, and this dignitary being himself surrounded by difficulties, exposed to persecution, and unable to aid them, was just as little likely to know their wants or have power to apply remedies to their evils, as was the Khan of Tartary.

Such was the situation of what began as a Catholic colony under the auspices of the crown of Great Britain and with the promise of royal protection. Such were the returns made by their Protestant neighbors to those Catholics who first established religious liberty upon the shores of America. This is but a faint outline of the misconduct of that party which taunts Catholics with bigotry and illiberality, and which boasts of the great edifice of civil and religious freedom, which, they allege, was raised in our republic by the genius of Protestantism. Such is an imperfect sketch of the way in which their wealth was obtained by the progenitors of those men who reproach the Irish and the American Catholics with their poverty. I shall add but one other detail to the recital. In doing so, I shall exhibit another way in which the wealth of several of the Irish nobility and landed gentry has been accumulated; nor is America altogether free from the taint.

Some of the Irish and a few of the American Catholics sought, through the friendship and honor of their Protestant neighbors, to preserve at the same time their property and their faith. They gave absolute titles of their lands, by a legal transfer, to their Protestant friends, who undertook privately, by a pledge of honor, which was all they could give, that whilst their ostensible ownership covered it from confiscation and rapine, they would administer it for the benefit of the Catholic family that confided in their friendship, and would reconvey it to the proper owners by sufficient titles, when the law should permit Catholics to become proprietors. Several Protestants have honorably fulfilled this sacred trust, and have thus saved much for the victims of the law, if the outrageous robbery which they sanctioned be not a desecration of the name of law. But, for others, the temptation was too great to be resisted; and many a high-headed, titled, and domineering Irish persecutor this day holds the wealth of which *he boasts* by a title thus infamously transmitted. This vile *code, also,* gave at once to the child of any Catholic, who

at any age should apostatize, the whole real property of the family, to the exclusion of the parents and of the other children, and Protestant trustees were to be appointed to hold it for him, until he arrived at the age of twenty-one years.

Nor was this all. Even personal property was subjected, in a variety of ways, to plunder. Perhaps one anecdote will be a sufficient specimen of the system. I shall relate it, as I heard it from the late venerable Bishop of Cork, Doctor Moylan, who died in 1815. It occurred in his boyhood, and is highly creditable to the Protestant Bishop Browne, of Cork, at the time when this system of robbery was in full force. I am not certain, whether it was not Timothy McCarthy (called *Rabagh*, or, as a lane, where he lived in obscure retreat, is now called, *Rawbuck*, by mistake) was the then Bishop of Cork, or his successor, Bishop Walsh. By the aid of some of his flock he procured two horses, to enable him to make the visitation of his diocese, accompanied by one of his priests, or to fly from his pursuers, as the case might require. The law forbade any Catholic to possess a horse of the value of more than five pounds, and authorized any Protestant, upon the payment of five pounds, to take away, for himself, any horse that a Catholic owned. A person called on the bishop to inform him that his horses would probably be demanded under this law; their value was more than six times the amount. Whilst they were yet devising how to save the horses, an agent from the Protestant bishop entered, paid down ten pounds, demanded the horses, insisted upon their delivery, and carried them away; in a short time afterwards, another similar demand was made, but the horses were no longer there. A note was soon received from the Protestant bishop, informing the Catholic prelate, that being quite aware of the determination of several Protestants to secure for themselves the horses, under the provisions of the law, he had sent early to secure them for himself, and having taken them into his possession, he *now sent* them back to their former owner

as a loan to be kept and used until they should be sent for. This was not the only instance in which the benevolence of even the dignitaries of the Protestant Church mitigated the provisions of this atrocious code. In America, equally as in Ireland, were the Catholics decimated in numbers and in property by its operation; and thus Maryland was made one of those colonies in which, though some Catholics were left, still the spirit of hostility to Catholics was made most manifest. And in Maryland, as in Ireland, if we find evidence of Protestant cruelty and oppression, we also find many noble instances of Protestant generosity, of Protestant friendship, and of Protestant protection.

I have mentioned Pennsylvania as a colony, in which no laws were enacted to restrain religious freedom. Its legislature adhered to this principle, and, as it bordered upon Maryland, when the persecution became vigorous in this colony, several Catholics retired from Maryland into Pennsylvania, but they had scarcely any opportunity of seeing a priest, nor was the term "religious liberty" sufficiently understood by the Quakers to comprehend Catholicity. It is true, that they neither hanged, whipped, banished, nor fined the members of our Church for their faith, nor did they tax them as "Irish servants;" but there is that solemn, distant, cold, systematic avoidance which proclaims, in a way sufficiently intelligible, the dislike and condemnation which one avoids to express by words. I know of no better description of this conduct, than is contained in a common story told of a Quaker's conduct to a dog which he disliked. Looking at him as he saw some persons approach, he thus soliloquized: "I shall neither hang thee, nor shoot thee, nor strike thee, but I shall call thee by a name," and as the people were within hearing, he exclaimed: "Mad dog!" The unfortunate animal was pursued by the crowd and stoned to death, whilst the man who gave the name stood by, expressing his compassion for the *suffering* dog, and subsequently lectured the crowd for their *cruelty* to dumb beasts. I do not by any means seek to

convey by this repetition of a common story my notion of the character of the "Society of Friends," amongst whom I have met several of the most benevolent individuals and kindest benefactors; but I give it as descriptive of what I do consider to have been the conduct of Pennsylvania towards the Catholics. And I shall give one instance as a sample of the facts upon which I have come to my conclusion.

About a century since a few Catholics in Philadelphia wished to erect a small chapel in an obscure corner of the city. No difficulty had, I believe, ever been raised to obstruct any of the several sectaries that were spread through the colony; but it was deemed necessary by those who then ruled, to send for advice upon the subject to the privy council in London. It was asked, as no law existed to prohibit them in the colony of Pennsylvania, yet as this people was everywhere contradicted, would it be proper to permit their raising this edifice? The spirit of the answer corresponded with that of the application. There was no legal power, it said, to prevent the Catholics doing as they desired, but it was the wish of the council that as many difficulties as possible should be raised. And as the obedient rulers of the colony did not wish to incur the displeasure of their British masters, it is unnecessary to remark, that difficulties, and perplexity, and delays were not wanting. This suffices to show the situation of the Catholics in Pennsylvania; and everywhere else there was positive, direct exclusion of anything Catholic. After the perusal of these details, the reader will be better prepared to judge of the difficulties experienced by Irish Catholics immigrating to these colonies.

Previous to 1776, few Irish Catholics settled in any of the colonies except Maryland and Pennsylvania. Some "Irish servants" had been transported to Virginia, and a number of German Catholics had located themselves in Pennsylvania. But the want of a clergy was so great, that no priest was to be met with in more than three or four *spots of this* extensive region. Thus deprived of *all spiritual aid, separated* from their former associates,

estranged from their kindred, mingled amongst sectaries, accustomed to hear their religion misrepresented and its professors villified and abused, and seeing no prospect of being able to resume its practices, great numbers of these persons made no profession of their faith. They were gradually drawn to attend the preaching and prayers of the sects; they intermarried with the members of these strange Churches; their children, frequently unconscious of the religion of the parent, were educated in direct hostility to its tenets and its practices; so that, in fact, the descendants of far the greater portion of those Catholics who immigrated into the British American colonies are now not only sectaries, but many of them the most virulent opponents of the Church of their ancestors. Notwithstanding these obstacles, it is said, and I believe upon good grounds, that the greater portion of the regular troops furnished by Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War, from 1776 to 1783—or, as they are called, the Pennsylvania Line—were Irish Catholics. This shows that, though the loss of the Catholic Church was exceedingly great, by reason of the various causes to which I have alluded, yet at the period of the Revolution there was in the country a good number of Catholics, a considerable portion of whom, at least more than one-third, were natives of Ireland.

The success of the Revolutionary army established a new state of society. Gradually the laws of persecution were torn away from the statute-books of most of the new republics. But however favorable this might have been, it could not supply a clergy nor abolish long-standing and deeply-rooted prejudices, which had been sedulously nourished by continued misrepresentations. And even after the Revolution, years had passed away before several of the States could be induced to repeal the British laws against the Catholics. It is only last year that North Carolina has placed them on an equality with her other *citizens*; and New Jersey has still a foul blot on her *constitution*.[1]

[1] *No State now discriminates against Catholics except in public education.*

It is now necessary, before coming to view the state of religion after the American Revolution, to cast an eye back to a few of the consequences of the transfer of Canada.

We may consider Canada as consisting of some of that portion which is now called Lower, and which extends from Montreal to Quebec, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, and thence to the mouth of that river, for little more was then settled. We may look upon the rest of Lower Canada, and of what is now called the Upper Province and all the western territory, together with what is now called New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as at that period of little or no importance. All this vast region, which was transferred by France to England, together with Canada, at the capitulation of Quebec, I shall consider as an out-territory.

During the French administration, Canada was managed in its religious concerns, generally, with great prudence and great zeal. A bishopric was established at Quebec: parishes were formed, organized, and provided with a good and useful clergy, who spoke the same language, who had the same origin, and the same manners and habits as the colonists. Seminaries for the education of the clergy, colleges for the laity, and convents and schools for the instruction of female children, were erected and endowed; hospitals and other charitable institutions were provided. All had the most perfect analogy to the bulk of the settlers, so far as regarded language, manners, habits and religion. Everything was prosperous. Jesuits and other qualified missionaries made occasional settlements amongst the Indians in the out-territory.

The government of England was hostile to the religion of the people. We have seen how violent were the prejudices and how cruel the laws of the colonies to the south. So that, although by the articles of cession much had been secured by France for the protection of the religion of the new subjects of the British crown, yet they were exposed to great dangers. The successive English governors of

Canada received the most precise and insidious private instructions from the English privy council, to undermine the Catholic religion in this newly acquired colony, for the purpose of making the English Protestant form of religion dominant and established. But, though the clergy and their faithful flocks and the interests of religion suffered seriously, all efforts of this description were fruitless, and Canada continued faithful to her God and to His Church.

The English government was, by its very position, forced to do homage to that religion which it wished to destroy; and it was no time to come to a rupture with the Canadians, when the old colonies were making complaints and presenting demands, after petition had been found unavailing. England, then, yielding to the dictates of good sense and sound policy, began to act with more moderation in her opposition to the religious feelings of her Canadian subjects; and she reaped the benefit of her change of conduct, whilst the bigotry and intolerance of some of her revolting colonies materially aided to secure to her the co-operation and fidelity of this newly acquired and important Catholic settlement.

Amongst the various complaints made by the thirteen colonies which subsequently became the United States, many were of great weight and manifest justice; but others were palpably unfounded, some frivolous. One of the most conspicuous of these latter was the charge put forth by some of the colonies in their list of grievances, that the King of Great Britain was a tyrant, because he sought to destroy the liberties of the other colonies, and to introduce despotism, by favoring and sustaining, some of them went so far as to say, by tolerating Popery in Canada. They all appeared to use it as a ground for urging against this monarch their charge of a deliberate attempt to destroy their liberties. And yet, notwithstanding this act of so astonishing a character, the Congress of the United States actually sent a delegation in which *there* was a Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and

which, upon the suggestion of Franklin, one of its members, was accompanied by a Catholic priest, the Rev. John Carroll, a Jesuit, and subsequently the first bishop and first archbishop of the Catholic Church in the United States, to ask the Canadians to join in their Revolution! It is not surprising that they could not succeed. I have my information from the lips of Charles Carroll. Canada had seen, she had heard enough. Canada had not forgotten the martyrdom of Father Sebastian Rasles, whom some of the soldiers of Massachusetts had murdered, in the midst of his congregation of Indians, on the 23d of August, 1724, and whose dead body they treated with even worse indignity than Buzzell and his mob treated the bodies at Mount Benedict more than a century afterwards. Canada recollected many similar acts of kindness, received in like manner from the colonists of New England. This is sufficient to show the spirit which then pervaded the land. And we surely should consider the Canadians as the most besotted of all beings, were they prevailed upon to give up the protection which England began to afford, in order to make common cause with the colonies, which, whatever their own grievances might have been, complained that conduct far different from such protection was tyranny to them. As Great Britain herself was led by her fears and her necessities to relax her persecutions, so, too, the United States forgot the tyranny of tolerating the Catholic religion, in their fear that without Canadian aid they might not be successful. And the lessons thus taught have since been improved upon; considerable progress has been made within sixty years.

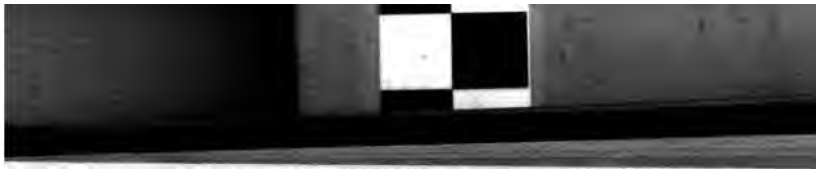
The Catholics had several missions in the out-territory amongst the Indians, many of whom had been united to the Church, and whose conduct was edifying. The Jesuits had been principally engaged in this apostolic duty, and they had large funds applicable to this purpose, besides those necessary for the maintenance of their own institutions. The British gradually sent the Jesuits from those missions, seized upon their funds and buildings, and threw

back the whole of this immense range of country, if I may so express it, into its original desolation; and thus, that portion of it to the west, which came into the possession of the United States—though formerly, as we have seen, occupied by missionaries—was, at the period of the Revolution, totally without religious opportunities, nor has it since been practicable to make any extensive efforts to seek after and to instruct those red descendants of the first fervent Christian converts. Some of them, it is true, are now again gathered into a few congregations in the British possessions; others have wandered through the western forests towards the Pacific.

Amongst the most wealthy and respectable colonists of the South were many families of Huguenots, whom England received upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and whom she placed in a region where, by their industry and perseverance, they had acquired for their descendants wealth and power. It was natural that they should entertain and cherish prejudices against that religion from which, they had been taught, their fathers had suffered much; but justice requires the avowal that they have never manifested a spirit of persecution. At the period to which we have now arrived, there was scarcely a Catholic to be found in the whole extent of the Carolinas or Georgia, nor was there a priest in this region for many years after the Revolution. Great numbers of the Presbyterians, who were invited to immigrate into Carolina, were the descendants of those Scotch settlers who had been planted, as I before described, in the north of Ireland, upon the extermination of the Irish Catholics under Elizabeth and James I. Several large settlements had also been made directly from Scotland; and an extensive body of the land was occupied by German Protestants, and a few of the same religion from Switzerland. Still the great landed proprietors were of English or of French descent.

V.

This brings us to the period when the territory ceased to be under the government of England, and when, by a



treaty of peace with that power, the independence of the United States was fully and formally recognized. It is obvious, that up to this period, the number of Catholics must have been considerably less than what it would have been had there existed a sufficient clergy and no persecution. It is at this moment difficult to say what was the number of Catholics, but I think the clergy would be numbered very fully in putting it down at twenty-five. Indeed, I consider this as overrating it. Many causes now combined to diminish the long existing prejudices. Not only had Catholics fought and fallen in the Revolutionary struggle, but Catholic France had aided with her army and her navy; her Catholic chaplains had celebrated our offices in the camps and in the cities; Catholic Poles had fought by the side of the American soldiers, had led their troops into the thickest of the fight, and had sacrificed their lives for the cause of American freedom; the best and most gallant and hardy portion of their own troops, the Pennsylvania Line, was chiefly composed of Irish Catholics. The commander-in-chief, the noble and generous Washington, had testified to their bravery and their devotion. A Catholic was the man who probably had staked the largest property in their cause, amongst that patriot band that had pledged life and fortune and sacred honor to sustain the Declaration of Independence. He had gone with Franklin and another, accompanied by a Catholic priest, through pathless woods and unexplored mountains, a long and perilous journey, to try whether they could wipe away from the mind of the Catholic colony of Canada the unfavorable impressions which the ignorance, the folly and the bigotry of those hostile to his creed had made, to the detriment of his country. The feelings of hostility to Catholics and the prejudices against our religion thus began, at the period of the Revolution, gradually to decline. Liberty of worship was soon restored in some of the States, penalties were blotted from the statute-book: yet was the public mind quite uninformed *respecting* our tenets and our principles;

the ancient notions in regard to Catholic doctrines and practices continued to subsist, though feelings of kindness began to be entertained.

Probably this would have been an exceedingly favorable moment to have taken advantage of such a disposition; but to do so would require a body of clergymen well-informed, prudent and far more numerous than existed in the States. Just prejudices, if I may use the expression, were entertained against Great Britain, so that if England had had priests to spare, it is doubtful how far they would have been acceptable. That nation, so far as regarded our religion, was then in a very different position from that which she at present occupies, though even now she cannot furnish a clergy sufficient for her own demands, and the late vicar apostolic of the London district not long since remarked in answer to official inquiries, that it was impossible to foresee the period when England would be likely to furnish priests for her own colonies. At the time of which I treat, her few clergy were ground down under an afflicting persecution; she had no place in the kingdom for the education of her candidates, and was of course totally unable to do anything for America. Ireland was in a still worse position; yet the loss of the American colonies created in Great Britain a wholesome dread of too far exasperating the plundered population of this ill-treated land. In order to try and secure their attachment, during the war with France and the contest with the Revolutionary colonies, the government of Ireland had considerably mitigated the ferocity of its persecution. The Irish Catholics wanted a good many priests and were very insufficiently supplied. As this island had no seminary within her borders, she was dependent upon those which the Catholic nations of Europe, especially France, had allowed to be opened upon their soil for the education of her zealous youth, who, in defiance of the prohibitions of those in power, ventured, at the risk of their vengeance, to leave their country by stealth for that purpose, *and* to return in the face of every peril to serve upon the

sion. Little of course could be then done. by Ireland America.

The language of the Catholic nations being so differ- from the English tongue, which was that of the ted States, and the almost impossibility for a foreigner acquire it, in such a way as to be a useful public ker, left little inducement for zealous missionaries n the continent of Europe to enter upon these missions. re existed also other obstacles of no little moment, ch rendered it unlikely that European priests could at time be usefully invited. The political principles of ope and the vague notions which existed in regard he Revolution and the republicanism of the new States, e undefined and unsatisfactory; the manners and the ts of the Europeans were different from those of the ericans; the contemplation of those differences, added that of the immense distance at which the great ntic then seemed to place the two hemispheres, the equency of communication, and a variety of similar culties, left little prospect of success as the result of application. There was another obstacle, arising from poverty of the Catholics as a body and the almost absence of any funds, save what could be obtained their generosity. The sole exception was, some prop- which had been originally destined for the missions were served in early times by the Jesuits, and a ion of which had by a variety of contrivances been erved, and which had at this period been legally ed in the priests of Maryland, who had been incor- ted by the new government; and which has since nsibly passed into the possession of the Jesuits of getown, in the District of Columbia, upon the condi- of paying something towards the support of the niepiscopal See of Baltimore. It was from this fund the clergy then derived the principal means for their port.

Thus, though the Catholics were now spread in greater less numbers through the States, there were no clergy-

men save in Maryland and in Pennsylvania, and these were far too few for the number who sought the aid of their ministry. In Maryland, they were pretty well spread in about a dozen places, but in Pennsylvania they could not be found in more than two or three spots outside of Philadelphia. Thus, though the immigration commenced, the Catholic immigrants could find neither priest nor altar nor associates in religious worship, save in a very few spots of these immense regions. I have before described the consequences of this lamentable dearth. To this is to be attributed the melancholy result, that so many thousands of the descendants of these first settlers are now found in the various sects.

Probably not ten priests arrived from Ireland with the many thousands of Catholics who flocked hither from that country, during the years which intervened between the establishment of independence and the erection of the first see at Baltimore, for the whole territory of the Union, in 1790. And whilst the people were scattered through the country, the priests were kept in the principal towns. Nor is it to be imagined that all the clergymen who, in the early days of our republic, migrated from Europe, were actuated in their transfer of residence by the purest zeal, nor that they were the persons best qualified to promote the cause of religion. Some of them, indeed, were men of that description and were extremely useful; but others were driven across the Atlantic by disappointment or by censure, and though they rendered occasional services, unfortunately, they too often counter-balanced them by their scandals.

The leading citizens of these new States were not half civilized savages. They were men of strong understanding, many of whom had received the best education which the schools of Europe could bestow; they had improved their minds by that observation which travelling calls forth: they had served their country at a critical period in the council and in the field; they had associated with some of the best-informed men of the age, and they had read

extensively. The influence of such men upon the society by which they were surrounded was powerful. Others, gifted with talent and ambitious of distinction, improved by their intercourse, labored to emulate them, and frequently succeeded in the effort. He who can understand their language has but to read the compositions which emanated from their pens, and the reports of the eloquent and manly speeches which flowed from their lips, and he must be convinced that no nation of only equal numbers furnished at the same time a larger body of admirable men than did the United States at the period which immediately succeeded their independence. Schools and colleges arose, governments were framed, courts of justice were established, religious congregations were organized: on every side creative efforts were made for every purpose.

But when, in the midst of this mighty movement, the observer contemplates the situation of the Catholic Church, he sees, indeed, a bishopric erected; the see is filled by a man worthy of his age, of his station, and of his religion, as well as of his country; but he is found to be comparatively powerless, because equally destitute of a proper clergy and of the means for its creation. The scattered Catholics were destitute of pastors, their children were lost to the Church; the greater number of the few who exercised the ministry, were unable to remove the erroneous impressions of such a people as were found over the States. There were few opportunities; no books could be procured in defence of Catholic doctrines; the principal portions of English literature, which necessarily became that of the United States, were filled with passages tending to destroy our religion by misrepresentation, by sophistry, by ridicule, and by wit; and through the whole country there was not found a press nor a bookseller to counteract this evil. The people sought for information upon the subject, and every source from which they could draw it was poisoned, every fountain at which they drank was tainted. Need we wonder at the continuance of prejudice, the dislike of our religion, the *obloquy to* which our principles and practices

were exposed, or at the false shame which drew the pusillanimous from the profession of their creed?

We now arrive at another epoch, desolating for Europe, beneficial to America. The machinations of infidelity produced their horrible effects in France. Its religion was proscribed, its clergy were obliged to submit to banishment, to death, or to apostasy; several of its pious laity, escaping with their lives, found asylums in foreign lands, and not a few traversed the Atlantic. That small portion of the clergy which betrayed their holy charge, remained at home, and under the protection of the bad men who ruled, were intruded into desecrated sanctuaries to officiate at polluted altars. Their faithful brethren were bathed in their blood, or lurked in hiding-places to serve the few who, at the peril of their lives, adhered to their religion and gave shelter to its ministers. But the great bulk of the holy band was found in exile weeping for the desolation of their country, and beseeching heaven to receive it once more to its mercy. The pious and learned emigrant clergy of France, not only edified several countries by their virtue, but elsewhere they aided greatly to the conversion of Protestants, by their zeal, their prayers, and their example. America had the good fortune to obtain several of them, and they became a very seasonable supply in this moment of her destitution. They made efforts to learn her language, and in many instances they were as successful as could reasonably be expected. There is no language more difficult for a foreigner, and it has its peculiar difficulties for one whose vernacular language is French; they who can speak it tolerably in public are but rare exceptions amidst the great number that acquire it so as to be able to converse with facility. America has been fortunate in possessing a few of those exceptions. She has had two or three excellent men in her pulpits, to whom even persons of taste and of information could listen with pleasure, and from whom they could derive *much* instruction, as well as gratification. A number of *others* were able to make themselves more or less intel-

ligible, but I may say that, with scarcely an exception, all edified with their piety and preached by their example. It is true, that persons who could speak fluently the language of the people, whilst they possessed the learning and the piety of those men, would have been more useful, especially if their habits and customs had better qualified them for mixing with the people, for serving upon the country missions, and for understanding the laws, and the civil and political institutions of the country; but such men could not then be found, and it was a peculiar blessing from heaven that this seasonable aid was obtained.

Shortly after this period, the insurrection in San Domingo (now Hayti) caused great numbers of the colonists of that island to fly with such of their slaves as would accompany them; a few of the clergy came with these emigrants, and they settled principally in the Southern States. Thus, the French portion of the Catholics in the Union was exceedingly well provided with spiritual aid, but it was far otherwise with the Irish, whose number was continually increasing in the sea-ports, though they went by thousands from these places to the interior, where settlements had already been made; and still farther west, to thin the forest and to subdue the land by cultivation; but in those regions no priest was then to be found.

Ireland had most of her continental establishments for clerical education destroyed by the French Revolution and by the wars which succeeded, and years elapsed before she could obtain, even under the still greater mitigation which her persecutors granted, houses in which her children could be assembled, professors to teach them, and funds for their support. The devotion of her prelates and of her people having made a commencement, the Irish government gave reluctantly and sparingly a miserable dole, which the economy of those to whose management it had been entrusted expended to the best account. Still, however, many years elapsed before she could supply her own churches, and she naturally considered it to be her duty to make *provision for* them, before she would send any

clergymen to those tens of thousands of her children, who, having left her shores, were to be found in so many parts of these western regions.

Thus, though there was an increase of a good clergy by reason of the French Revolution, it was not precisely of the description that was required in the new republic.

Besides the difficulties arising from the diversity of language and customs, there were some that occasionally arose from difference of political predilections. They who outraged religion and massacred the clergy in France, desecrated the name of liberty by the anarchy and despotism to which they so wickedly and inappropriately gave that appellation; and they moreover rendered the name of republicanism odious through a large portion of the world, by the atrocities which they perpetrated under the semblance of its sanction; and although the clergy of France who had escaped to America were sufficiently aware of the wide distinction between the well-regulated order of American republicanism and the licentious and tyrannical infidelity which assumed that name in France, and though several amongst them were gradually becoming attached to American institutions, still, amongst others, unpleasant recollections were excited by the similarity of name, and this could not always exist without an unpleasant influence upon a man who had suffered grievously in the land he loved, for whose ruin he wept, and the memory of which, though dear to his heart, was blent with that of the murder of his cherished companions and devoted friends. It was not, and it could not be, in his power always to suppress the exhibition of what he felt. Too often, the thoughtless or the envious, the enthusiastic admirer of liberty or the cool opponent of his religion, made a serious mistake, or took an unfair and an unkind advantage because of this exhibition. Hence, though the cause of religion in the United States gained greatly by this accession, yet it was not free from some disadvantage. And, perhaps, during the twenty years that succeeded the erection of the See of Baltimore, though *there* was a considerable increase of congregations and of

religious opportunities, there was a vast loss to the Church, because there was not a body of clergy sufficiently numerous and perfectly fitted to attend the immigrants that arrived from Germany and from Ireland.

Another great source of mischief was the loss of orphan children, even in those places where Catholic congregations were formed and priests were found. These children were placed in public or sectarian institutions, and almost universally lost forever to the Church.

Another may be added, that although there was a bishop, yet the peculiarity of his circumstances confined him almost exclusively to Baltimore and its vicinity, whilst his diocese, which was as extensive as half of Europe, could by no means have the advantage of his episcopal visitation.

VI.

Before I leave this part of my subject, I must notice the foundation that was laid for much subsequent mischief, by the cause given for serious and anti-Catholic usurpations of trustees of church property, and for the schisms and disgraceful quarrels in churches.

I have previously, in a general manner, noticed a want of acquaintance with our legal principles and provisions respecting property amongst some of the clergy. I may here observe, once for all, that unfortunately these principles and provisions seem to have been overlooked in some places to this day. I do not know any system more favorable to the security of religious rights and of church property than that of the American law. I have consulted eminent jurists upon the subject. I have closely studied it, and have acted according to its provisions in various circumstances, favorable and unfavorable, during several years, and in many of the details and as a whole, I prefer it to the law of almost every Catholic country with which I am acquainted. I think, with the exception of one, perhaps two States, that it is a more honest, fair and liberal system. Like any other, it is liable to be

abused, and sometimes the prejudices of the individual will accompany him to the bench or to the jury-box; but this is not the fault of the system. I shall give an outline of its principles.

The government of each State is that which is to be considered the original sovereign. It pre-existed the federation, and divested itself not of this sovereignty, but of the exercise of some of its powers, upon entering into the confederacy. A new power, viz., the government of the United States, was subsequently created, for the purpose of exercising those sovereign attributes of whose use the several States had debarred themselves. They not only did not give to the general government any authority in religious concerns, but expressly stipulated that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus, whatever authority a government may rightfully possess in this respect resides in the several State sovereignties; and in fact, they all at present act upon the principle of the above prohibitory enactment. The State does not then interfere with religion, which it considers to be the concern of each individual in his private capacity, and it leaves him in perfect freedom, provided that, in the exercise of this freedom, he will not disturb the public peace, or infringe upon the rights of his fellow-citizens. The State also considers religion to be useful to society, and therefore an object for which a number of individuals, having common opinions and common principles, may lawfully and beneficially associate. It considers that associations so formed ought to be protected by securing the property or funds which they may consecrate to this object, as well as by allowing them full opportunity of practicing their rites and ceremonies according to their own views of propriety and utility, provided they do not thereby disturb the good order of society. The State, however, does not recognize in society thus formed any individual or class of persons as vested with more power than another, or as having any right not common to every other member,

unless such power or right be created or recognized by the society itself. The State recognizes in each society thus formed the right to make for itself a constitution or form of government and by-laws for the management of its own concerns; and when they are regularly made, it recognizes their force within that body; and generally speaking, it is willing to grant the privilege of incorporation to religious congregations upon the principles here exhibited.

Upon these principles, there is no difficulty for a body of Catholics to assemble, to form themselves into an association, to recognize the power of their Pope, of their bishop, of their priests, and the several rights of each individual or body according to the doctrine and the discipline of their Church. They can, without departing from that doctrine or discipline, regulate the manner in which the property is to be held, and how it shall be managed, and can establish rules to restrict and to direct its managers. In a word, they can voluntarily bind themselves by special acts to maintain and observe the whole doctrine and discipline of the Church, and can regulate that no person shall be admitted a member of their association without this undertaking this obligation, or shall continue a member if he violates his contract for such observance.

By this process of American law no person is obliged to belong to any religious society except he shall desire it himself, and he cannot obtrude himself upon any religious society which is not willing to receive him or whose constitution he violates: and the legal tribunals of the State must, should questions of litigation arise, govern their decisions by the constitution and by-laws of the society itself, provided these laws be not incompatible with the laws of the particular State or of the United States. But where the society makes no constitution, or does not adopt any special regulations, but merely has persons chosen as trustees to manage its concerns, without any special restrictions; these trustees have the power to make all regulations and to change them as they may think proper,

during the term for which they have been chosen. Thus there may be trustees with limited powers in some churches, and in others their powers may be altogether undefined.

The Catholics, desirous of securing their property in the like manner as all other religious congregations were doing, frequently applied to the Legislatures of the States to have it vested in incorporated trustees, to be elected by themselves, but they seldom or never made any special constitution or laws to regulate or to restrict the power thus conferred; or if they did make any regulations, they were altogether loose and by no means sufficiently precise or technically drawn; and thus the power of the trustees generally became unlimited: it extended, if they choose to use it, over property, priests, bishops, and every person and thing that belonged to the society. This, it will be clearly perceived, was not a fault of the law, but a necessary consequence of not so applying its provisions as to suit the doctrine and discipline of our Church. And it must be acknowledged, that for a considerable period no churches in the Union had been more negligently managed in this respect than those of the Catholics; nor is it, even at this day, so easy to persuade some who have much influence in their direction, that the property can be better protected by the great principles of the law, than by expedients.

The evils arising from this ill-digested description of trusteeship caused immense detriment during the infancy of the American Church; nor are they merely a part of the history of days that have passed away. Men in several instances, well-disposed in regard to religion, but by no means sufficiently informed of what was required by the doctrine of the Church whose faith they held, acting as they imagined for its interests, began to copy the regulations and to follow the example of Protestant Churches, and to consider their own clergy as a species of servants to perform religious services in the way that they deemed *most* convenient. They next proceeded, under the pretext *of relieving* the clergy from temporal cares, to exclude

them from any share in the deliberations on the management of church concerns, though they forgot their own assumed principles whenever it was necessary to raise funds or to make collections; for on such occasions the clergy were expected to be drudges; and if the income was diminished, or money wanted to pay debts or to make repairs or for any other purpose, the reduction of the clergyman's salary was the most obvious and natural way to relieve themselves. This necessarily created discontent and estrangement; and if the clergyman complained, he was said to be avaricious and worldly-minded; if their right to change his wages at their own caprice was denied, the clergyman was said to be ambitious and despotic, and the trustees soon claimed they had the right, and in some instances attempted to dismiss the priest without even regarding the rights of the bishop or the doctrines of their Church. They have in several instances intruded bad men, men devoid of vocation, having no jurisdiction, and have frequently wasted large sums of the Church income in supporting schisms and in persecuting their lawful pastors. At this moment there are men living in several parts of the Union, who, in the sight of God, are bound to make heavy restitution to religion for the share which they have had in such disgraceful and mischievous practices.[1] Many persons who were the leaders or conspicuous members amongst the schismatics on such occasions, were persons totally bereft of faith, men born of Catholic parents and educated in the Catholic Church, but who had by the influence of bad reading, of bad companions, or of their own immorality lost their faith, and laughed at the practices of that religion which they however by money contributed to sustain, in order, as they said, that it might preserve their wives virtuous and their children and servants in obedience. Such men may be seen lounging in the vicinity of the church, or carelessly or curiously gazing within its precincts, half a dozen times in the year; but whenever a schism was

[1] *These scandals seldom take place now.*

meditated or a turmoil excited, no persons were more ready than were these "Catholic atheists" to be in the foremost ground to protect their rights, to aid religion, and to preserve liberty, by opposing the bishop, by humbling the priest, and by teaching the whole body of the clergy the proper mode of governing the Catholic Church! I give in this but a brief and an imperfect outline of what my own register would show during a part of my own administration. I will not, however, deny that in some instances clergymen have forgotten the boundary of their sphere, and endeavored to encroach upon that of the laity, but had a report been made, as was fitting, to the bishops, the remedy would have been quickly and effectually applied.

Hence I was convinced at an early period of my administration, that the remedy which was most natural, most safe, easiest, and most consonant to our legal position, was to designate, in such an instrument as the law would recognize and sanction, the line that separated the rights of the clergy from those of the laity, according to the principles of our doctrine and discipline, and to have it so adopted as to be legally binding and legally protective for both.

I will here remark, that although in many places the clergy appear to have done very little, if anything, to provide legal security for their rights, some of their cunning would-be-masters have been so exceedingly ingenious as to procure a legal provision for the perpetual exclusion of priests or bishops from any share in the administration of church goods or property. I have seen some very curious specimens of this in the legislation of Louisiana, where to the casual observer the provisions would appear to be merely the suggestion of ordinary prudence for the respectable and useful administration of church affairs. Yet it is in reality the studied deceitful cover which has been flung over mean and tyrannical usurpation, and is perfectly in keeping with that spirit which in so many other regions has, under the pretext of giving honor and *protection* to the Church, subjected it to the worst despotism of the State.

The ill-regulated system to which I have thus adverted, has proved to be a source of great disaster, of many scandals, and of several schisms in the United States, and has estranged great numbers from the Church, by disgusting respectable and peaceable members, by driving some of the schismatics into heresy, and by fomenting, not only a spirit of disorder, of anarchy, and of contempt for discipline, but also an estrangement from religious practices, an absence from the sacraments, and a destruction of the spirit of piety, in comparison to which the gross mismanagement of funds and other temporal losses are a mere insignificant trifle. Yet even in this respect the detriment has been very serious, and the respectability which a congregation loses by an exhibition of this description is not to be regained by several years of subsequent good conduct.

At the first Provincial Council of Baltimore, in 1829, the present chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States,[1] then attorney-general of Maryland, together with two other respectable Catholic lawyers, having been consulted upon the subject of so securing church property as to insure also the observance of our peculiar discipline, gave their advice. There was, however, a disinclination on the part of nearly all the prelates then assembled, to adopt its principles as a regulation. But, though at present a considerable diversity of practice prevails in the several dioceses of the Union, there is much greater harmony upon this subject between the clergy and the laity. There is very little agitation of the subject, the former disputes have been amicably settled, and there does not appear to be any great probability of new differences arising. Mutual confidence, a disposition to reciprocal respect and recognition, a more creditable zeal for the order and discipline of the Church on the part of the laity, are the symptoms that give assurance of better times. In most places, the experience of the good that has been produced by this line of conduct, not only in the prosperity of the Church, the benefit to religion, the

[1] Taney.

charity and affection of individuals, but also in the respectability which it brings to the Church and to its members, as well as the spirit of piety which exists, would be sufficient to outweigh all the efforts which could be made to reproduce such disgraceful contests as those that for years had distracted some of our churches and tended to destroy our religion.

I have been exceedingly tedious in the details that I have given: but I felt it better to write the history of the Church, that outsiders may be able to draw their own conclusions, rather than to advance my opinions, without laying before the public the ground upon which I found them. It now remains for me to take as rapid a view as I can of the period which has elapsed since the erection of the metropolitan See of Baltimore and the first suffragan Sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown.

In 1808, the number of Catholics had considerably increased, especially in the large towns on the Atlantic shore and in the regions west of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Holy See considered that it would be advisable to accede to the request of Bishop Carroll and of his coadjutor Bishop Neale, to erect new sees in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and in Bardstown, in the State of Kentucky. In the next year, Baltimore was created a metropolitan see, and Doctor Carroll dignified with the title of archbishop. Two French priests, who had labored with zeal, assiduity, privations, and success upon those missions, were appointed to Boston and Bardstown. The names of Cheverus and of Flaget are sufficient to exhibit the wisdom of that selection; nor were they the only priests of that description then to be found upon those missions. Doctor Matignon, of Boston, was one of the same class, and whose humility and love for Doctor Cheverus procured that the latter should take the place for which he had himself been designated. Two Irish priests were nominated for New York and Philadelphia: Doctor Concannon, who, though the first Bishop of New York, never

ıeld his see; he was consecrated in Rome, and died in ,ples, on his way to America; Doctor Egan, the first ıhop of Philadelphia, the few years of whose adminis- ,tion were years of difficulty. Doctor Connelly succeeded New York; and therefore, upon his arrival, may be ısidered the first that entered upon its administration. 'erybody admired his virtue, his humility, and his exer- ns in discharging the duties of the confessional and ending the sick; but he was not generally considered be a prelate acquainted with missions and fitted to m a new and extensive diocese. One or two of his iests, however, were efficient and active, and much is e to the zeal and prudence of one of them who governed ə diocese in times of difficulties, between his death and ə nomination of his successor. Philadelphia got into eat disorder, from whose consequences it was not easy relieve it. The South demanded organization. New leans was committed to Doctor Dubourg, a man of the ıst extensive views; but he was without priests or means, d encountered many difficulties; he retired to St. Louis, d laid the foundation of that see, where numbers of tholics, principally Irish, Germans, and Canadians, had gun to congregate. Charleston and Richmond were ated about five years after the death of Archbishop rroll, who may justly be styled the father of the strug- ng Church. It is not the intention of the writer of .s to pass judgment upon others; but he thinks that, ıongst various mistakes, the opposition to the separate ministration of this latter diocese, by causing its bishop[1] return to Ireland as soon as he could obtain permis- ın from the Holy See, has been by no means favorable the maintenance of religion in the State of Virginia. .is mistake is about to be remedied, but the past cannot recalled.

Still the immigration increased with a wonderful rapidity. ıe Sees of Cincinnati and of St. Louis were next created; ırida was ceded to the United States, but years elapsed, ıurches were vacant, property was lost, and usurpations

[1] Bishop Kelley.

took place before the See of Mobile was created, and it was then only a bishop who was established without a clergy. It is but a short time since Detroit has been erected into a see, and Vincennes has a daily increasing population of Irish and German Catholics pouring in upon its fertile vicinity. Railroads are now added to the canals that previously existed; the intercourse with Europe and the facilities of passage have wonderfully increased. The population, which fifty years ago was three millions, is this day[1] nearly seventeen, almost a sixfold increase. The Catholic settlers have been spread in thousands of places, not one-third of which can be attended to by the clergy of the country, and the consequences are too plain to be called into doubt. There is no question with regard to the increase of Catholics, the erection of churches, the organization of establishments, but the question is, has there not been a real and serious loss, by reason of the want of a clergy, and by reason of the great delays in doing even what has been already done? I fear that this loss is not only real but exceedingly great.

The principal causes of these evils I consider to be: 1. The pouring in of vast numbers of Catholic immigrants upon a country, where nothing had been previously done to enable them to practice the duties of their religion, but where every obstacle existed to render its profession and its practice exceedingly inconvenient, especially to strangers. 2. The want of opportunity for the education of the children of Catholics in the religion of their parents. 3. The exposure of the numerous orphans of immigrant Catholics, whose death or misfortunes or criminality left those unfortunate children to be educated in public institutions uncongenial to the religion of their parents. 4. The want of a clergy sufficiently numerous to meet the demands upon their ministry, sufficiently well-informed to be able to act with judgment, and in many instances badly acquainted with the language, often incapable of giving public instruction, and not sufficiently aware of *the* nature of the government, the law, or the genius of

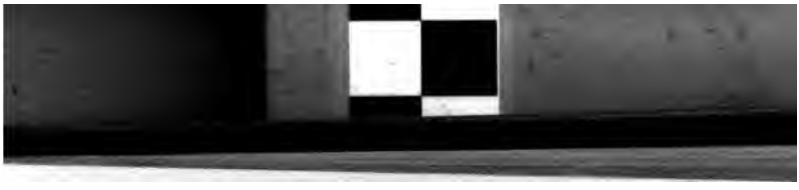
[1] 1836. Perhaps 60,000,000 would not be an over estimate now.

the country. 5. The invasion of this mission by many priests, who in Europe were found to be incorrigibly bad, or unable to act except under the guidance of others. 6. Injudicious appointments to places of administration. 7. The want of mutual confidence and co-operation, arising from throwing together people of several nations well-disposed and zealous, yet having too many points of peculiar habits and divided interests to allow of their efficiently acting in a body. 8. The vigilance, activity, wealth, and co-operation of the various Protestant societies, which, though divided in religious belief, still are united in every effort to weaken or oppose the Catholics.

I have also, after long examination, laid before the Holy Father what I considered to be the indication of a simple and practicable remedy for some of those evils, not only in the United States, but over a far wider range of missions which suffer most severely, in many instances, from similar causes. In doing so, I consider that I have done all that is required of me. I have honestly expressed my view of what I was bound to examine. I shall feel well pleased if a better remedy can be devised than that which I have suggested; and if my opinions shall be considered unfounded, or my views incorrect, or my propositions impracticable, I shall at least feel that I have done all that my situation required or permitted me to do; and shall endeavor within my own sphere to discharge my duty in the best way I can, satisfied that they who differ from me in opinion are actuated by the best motives, and are at least equally gifted as I can pretend to be with the faculties of observation and reflection, and that in due time proper remedies will be applied to evils which all acknowledge to be in existence and more or less powerful operation. It now remains for me to express my opinion of what the Propagation Society has done.

I consider its existence to be one of the greatest benefits conferred upon religion in the United States, and its continued exertions at this moment to be not only highly useful but indispensably necessary; for the active opposi-

tion of the enemies of our faith has been excited and strengthened, since they have observed that we have been aided by our friends in Europe, and they have by their supporters been strenuously sustained in their efforts. Should we then be abandoned at such a moment, our power to resist them would be greatly diminished, and it would be questionable whether the Propagation Society's former generosity would not prove in its results more injurious to religion than it has been beneficial. However, I have no fears upon this head; the principles by which it is guided and the motives by which it is urged to action are my assurance. It is instigated by the love of God, by the love of its neighbor, by the zeal of religion, by the affection of charity. It is guided by those maxims of prudence which withhold it from interfering in what is not its province, whilst they make it active in its proper sphere. It has procured means for those who were destitute and entrusted their application to the authority which, by the discipline of the Church, had the right and power of superintendence. If any mistakes have been committed in the disbursement, the fault is not the society's; but it has full merit of the bounty that emanated from its generous charity. It has built churches, it has erected seminaries, it has sustained missions, it has created convents, it has established schools; it has saved orphans from temporal misery and from eternal ruin; it has caused those who were blind to see the error in which they were; it has roused from their lethargy those whose ears had been long closed, to hear the testimony of truth, the terrors of judgment, and the invitations of virtue. It has made those who before were not able to move in the service of their God, now to run in the way of His Commandments. It has caused the Gospel to be preached to the poor, the neglected, and the forlorn; in many a spot it has made what had been a desert to bloom with the verdure of religion, to swell with the buds of virtue, to blossom with the flowers of good works, to spread abroad the fragrance of pious example, and to bring forth



its worthy of redemption. Thousands who sat in dark-
s and the shadow of death lift their hands to bless
for the light and the warmth which they now enjoy
m the splendor of the Orient which has beamed upon
m. It has already done much to alleviate the misery
l to check the devastation which have long desolated
western hemisphere. Even now a mighty change has
n effected, and it was amongst the first to procure
l furnish the means that contributed to its production.
; it go on, then, with increased zeal and redoubled
ivity, and be assured that the good men in whom it
fides will, under the guidance of heaven, discover and
pt the best mode of applying its benefactions to the
atest advantage.

THE PAPACY AND FEUDALISM.[1]

I FEEL no small share of regret at finding myself obliged to write what you have very thoughtlessly made necessary. I have just read your oration as it appeared in the *Southern Recorder* of the 15th of August. It is not because of the want of taste which you exhibited in your poetical selections; in the first of which you place before us the death of a tyrant preparatory to your discourse upon the death of Jefferson, and in the second you tell us that another such has fallen, because Adams is no more. Neither do I complain because in your effusion you do not manifest as much capacity for treating your subject as might be expected from much more humble aspirants to the fame of oratory. I shall not quarrel with you for the charge which you make upon General Washington and John Adams, or one of them, of having, during his Presidency, weakened and destroyed the Constitution; though the one is embalmed in the recollections of the wise and the good, and the other was the object of your panegyric. But my charge against you is that you have made a very wanton attack upon a large number of your fellow-citizens.

You have said that in the Declaration of Independence Mr. Jefferson embodied what was valuable of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and Act of Settlement. A subsequent passage of yours, and of which I regret to know you are the author, is the following:

"The political constitutions of Europe, the offspring of feudalism and essentially despotic, were still more corrupted by a union with the constitution of the Roman Church. Priests came in aid of kings and nobles to multiply and

[1] *A letter to Governor Troup, of Georgia, which appeared first in the Catholic Miscellany, September 9 and 16, 1826.*

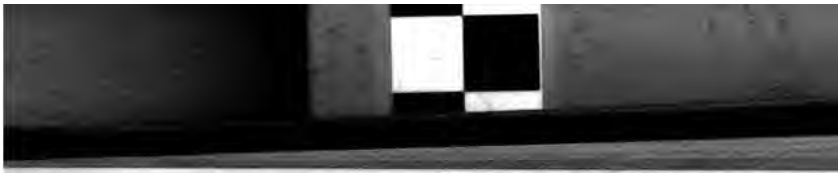
perpetuate abuses, and the divine right and infallibility of royalty were preached by the successors of St. Peter, to make a mystery of government, and by impressing the hopelessness of reform but through divine grace, to perpetuate the dominion of the few and the vassalage of the many—when, therefore, it was said that government was no mystery, that rational beings are capable of self-government, that all men are equal, and that governors are but the servants of the people, created by and responsible to the people, the promulgators of these obvious truths were decried as wild enthusiasts and visionary theorists, whose doctrines might amuse the multitude, but could never be reduced to practice."

Under any circumstances, such a declaration coming from the mouth of the Governor of one of the old thirteen States, must be galling to the Roman Catholics of America; but if the statement which you made be untrue, and if you have in this instance calumniated institutions, with whose nature and whose history you appear to have little or no acquaintance; the insulted Catholics will not be compensated for the injury which you have done them, even should they discover that you are an honorable man, who feels contrition for his offence; they may pardon you, but still they suffer.

Magna Charta was but a partial assertion of the rights of Englishmen against the feudal tyranny of their conquerors. Feudalism was introduced into England after the unfortunate overthrow at Hastings by William the Conqueror. Previous to this, the English had a free government, they had written charters, fixed laws, and well-defined principles: they also had in its full vigor the Roman Catholic religion; and the best guarantee and bulwark of their liberties was voluntarily given to them from conscientious convictions, and through the advice of bishops and priests, by a king whom the Roman Catholics generally revere as a saint. The laws of Edward the Confessor are at once the result of Catholic regal justice and the *best protection* of British liberty. They are the

collected excellence of the laws of a series of Catholic kings. Those of Kent were promulgated first by Ethelbert in 602; and their enactment by which the fixed system of law was substituted for the monarch's or the witten's caprice was one of the first results of this king's conversion by priests sent from the Roman Church by the successor of St. Peter. So early did they commence their labor to make government not mystery but law. His successor, Withred, in 696, continued their improvement: three years before, Ina had done the same for Wessex: and in 790, the Mercians received their laws from Offa. Alfred, who was not only a most religious and pious Roman Catholic, but a student in Ireland, and a learner at Rome, and a disciple of the Pope in the art of government, embodied the great principles of justice and of right which he found in those several codes, and in the laudable customs of his nation; and gave to all England her first national code of law, and is justly styled the father of British liberty. He also gave a special code to Guthrum the Dane, who became a Roman Catholic and made an alliance with him in 870 or 871, and by which this convert was to govern the Danish Catholics who were permitted to remain in East Angle. Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Ethelred improved those laws; and from a conviction of its being his duty to secure for the people over whom he was called by their own free choice to reign, as much liberty and protection as he could. Edward the Confessor compiled his code of laws. During this whole period, there was no feudal principle in England; they had free customs and fixed laws and allodial tenure.

Feudalism was established in several places upon the continent of Europe. I agree with you in stating that it was essentially despotic; but your excellency must have forgotten your historical researches when you made your next assertion, "that those feudal constitutions were still more corrupted by a union with the constitution of the Roman Church." Had your excellency condescended to



write without ambiguity, I should have had less trouble in my answer. Gentlemen like you, perhaps, do not care to learn even obvious distinctions, where Popery is concerned: but the knowledge of the economy of even a nest of ants would be no degradation. There is as obvious a distinction between the constitution of the Roman Church and that of the Roman Catholic Church, as there is between the constitution of the city of Washington and the Constitution of the United States; but, perhaps, you never took the trouble of examining either the one or the other. Believe me, your excellency would write and speak better upon any subject by being acquainted with its nature. If in your oration you meant what you said, the "Roman Church," you made just as intelligible an assertion as if you had gravely told your auditors, that the constitution of our colleges, essentially literary, became much better by a union with the constitution of the city of Washington. But if you meant the "Roman Catholic Church," when you said "Roman Church," as I assume you did, you contradicted all history.

If you do not know, you, and every man in such a station as you fill, ought to know more of the history of the European governments than you exhibit; you ought to know, that feudalism, at its first establishment in Southern Europe, was not only despotic but ferocious, and that its spirit was softened by the Roman Catholic Church, and its usurpations were resisted and checked by that same Church. I shall now glance at a few facts to which you have directed my attention, and confining myself to them, exhibit to you enough to make you feel that you have acted unwisely in venturing to attack a Church of whose principles you know so little.

We have seen that England had not the feudal principles in her constitution at the time of King Edward the Confessor, who died on the 5th of January, 1066. The Norman William soon found his sword had hewn a passage to the British throne. He preferred the Norman to the British principles; and first established the feudal

tenure in the island; though in 1070 he confirmed the laws of Edward, yet through his whole reign his first object was to make the English nation submit to mitigated feudalism. The Church had before this conquest held her possessions either by the allodial title or that of free-arms, but the great object of the Conqueror was to have the title to these lands, and all other rights to any temporalities which she held, dependent upon and derived from the king, upon the feudal principle. In some instances he and his successors were able, by the dint of oppression, to force the clergy to a surrender of their ancient rights and acceptance of a new feudal title, for the whole or for a part, from his majesty. The old Saxons who did not accept of such titles when offered, were dispossessed, and Normans very gladly became feudal possessors in their stead. The laws of the Confessor and the ancient rights gradually fell into disuse or were superseded. Thus, during the reigns of the first two Williams, the two Henrys, Stephen, Richard, and John, there existed an almost ceaseless war between those monarchs and the Church, in consequence of the resistance of the prelates to the kingly usurpations. The barons were generally awed or interested, and the people were enslaved. The clergy alone made resistance in a body, though frequently, for peace' sake, some of that order, as they did at Clarendon to the second Henry, parted with much of their rights and of the property of which they were but trustees; some, as Becket, lost their lives; and, as Langton, were driven into exile. This is not the picture of the constitution of the Church uniting with that of feudalism to make a despot more corruptly powerful. Will your excellency vouchsafe to accompany me to Runnymede? Who produced the old copy of Edward's laws, and taught the barons and the freemen their rights? Who brought them to the altar to swear that they would hold together and persevere in seeking the restitution of their rights? Who stood forward to claim from John that restitution? Whose steady demand awed the crouching tyrant more

than the gleaming of the armor which glittered on that field? It was Langton, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus, whatever of good is to be found in Magna Charta is due to the very people whom Governor Troup has wantonly insulted.

Feudalism was restrained in England by the Roman Catholic Church; and, but that neither my leisure permits me, nor does the subject require it, I would show you the same result upon the continent of Europe. We shall stay in England, because you have chosen it for your ground. With the exception of the third Edward, there was scarcely a monarch who did not endeavor to make his feudal prerogative prevail over popular right; and in all those cases with scarcely an exception the king experienced the opposition of the Church; until in the ferocity of his rage and lust, the eighth Henry laid that Church prostrate at his feet, because it would not sacrifice eternal truth to his beastly passions. This, may it please your excellency, was the commencement of the religious Reformation of England. Now indeed for the first time the principle of feudalism gave to the British monarch everything he sought; he was now lord paramount in Church and State. Need I inform Governor Troup what immediate consequences flowed from this usurpation? The parliament became a mere mockery; the royal proclamation had the force of law; any freeman who sought to obtain the benefit of the Great Charter was transmitted to a dungeon; no charter was a title; did any bishop dare to raise his voice to vindicate his right, he was sent to the scaffold; an honest chancellor's fate was to be similar. Under Edward the Sixth, the bishop's commission might be superseded. Thus, the genuine principle of perfect feudalism was established in England, only upon the destruction of the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church: and a more obedient set of gentlemen to the powers that be, has never been exhibited to the world, than in the substitutes for those turbulent prelates who contended for their ancient rights and chartered property. Every semblance of liberty,

save the shadow of a parliament, was now lost. When the bill of rights was introduced and passed, it was but an attempt to restore long-lost liberties which had been tyrannically trampled upon, contrary to the laws, usages, and principles of the ancient, Catholic, English people. Those enumerated and enacted in the act of settlement are no more. The Roman Catholic Church has no principle in her constitution, no tenet in her doctrines, no custom in her discipline which teaches or implies that a king reigns by divine right. When kings state that they rule by the grace of God, they mean by His favor or kindness, as the word implies. You need not go to religion for its meaning, and certainly not to the Roman Catholic religion to explain that it is by a supernatural gift or favor of God that George IV now persecutes Roman Catholics. As I suppose you are a classical scholar, you must know that the words, "Gratia Dei," are a generic expression, which, according to the context are to be translated, the kindness of God regarding a temporal or a spiritual benefit. The Roman Catholic Church never classed the possession of a crown and sceptre amongst her sacraments. If your excellency means to speak or to write upon those subjects again, it would be well if you took the pains to study them; because I believe the Almighty never promised to give historical, or classical, or legal information to kings or to governors by mere inspiration. Thus, if Mr. Jefferson drew up, with consummate felicity, an excellent declaration, "embodying what is valuable in Magna Charta, the bill of rights, and act of settlement," it is no disparagement to his genius to assert, that the two latter only "invigorated and restored" what had been previously given in Magna Charta; but the force of that charter was impaired by feudalism, to which the Roman Catholic Church gave opposition, and which feudalism, by the destruction of that Church, got full vigor to destroy the charter; and that this charter was obtained and established by the Roman Catholics in opposition to a feudal tyrant, and was but the imperfect restitution of what Roman Catholics had

created and enjoyed by the aid of their Church, before a feudal conqueror robbed them of their rights; and that the English Roman Catholic clergy endured their greatest hardships, because of their opposition to feudal tyrants.

Your excellency having, in defiance of all records, stated in reference to England, that Roman Catholic priests came in to aid kings and nobles in perpetuating and multiplying as well as establishing the abuses of feudalism, I come to examine your other assertions.

"The divine right and infallibility of royalty were preached by the successors of St. Peter, to make a mystery of government, and by impressing the hopelessness of reform but through divine grace, to perpetuate the dominion of the few and the vassalage of the many."

Your sentence is wretchedly constructed; but still we can discover your meaning. Will you please to inform us what successor of St. Peter preached the divine right of kings? Have not the Popes been generally accused of asserting that kings held their crowns from the Holy See, and not from God; by papal, not by divine right? What successor of Peter ever preached or taught the infallibility of kings? Have they not been generally accused of acting towards kings not only as if their majesties were fallible, but criminal? Have they not been at war with kings? Have they not deposed kings? What page of history, what record, what fact has exhibited to your excellency that they preached that government was a mystery? I have sometimes heard of the Popes stating that a king reigned by divine right; but I have never heard or read that any Pope preached such a doctrine, until I read it in your oration; but for you was reserved the high distinction of being, I believe, the first public authority to charge the Pope with preaching that kings are infallible. There are some persons, may it please your excellency, who hold as an opinion, that some of our State Governors imagine themselves to be infallible; perhaps there were in former times kings who really had as high notions of their own good sense and were as tenacious of their own

opinions as any of our Governors; the obstinacy of such kings might also have caused considerable loss of territory to their States. Believing such men as these, the Pope, who may also err in his views of human nature or mistake the dispositions of individuals, as I find I have done as regards you; he might have either taken their assertion of their own infallibility as evidence of the fact, or he might have inferred their opinion of themselves from their conduct; nor is it to be presumed that a man who continues to act as if he was assured of his infallibility, does imagine himself liable to error. Be that as it may, your assertion of the Pope teaching that kings were infallible, is to me a totally new piece of information. I am so anxious to add to my stock of knowledge, that you will confer a great favor on me by informing me which of the Popes taught this doctrine; and I promise to publish it as soon as you transmit the information. However, your excellency has placed the Pope in a very awkward position; for whilst you made him preach that the king was infallible, you made him hold out a hope to the people who were injured by the infallible king, that they would be redressed by the same king when the grace of God should have led him to repair the evils produced by his infallibility. Really, it requires more penetration than I can lay claim to, to reconcile that and this. These Popes have always been a very inconsistent race of beings!

As I am no advocate for the divine right of kings, believing also that they have no claim to infallibility, I promise you for the name of every Pope whom you shall specify as having preached in support of the divine right of kings, I will give to you, for him, the names of two Protestant bishops who have preached the same doctrine; but, we must have it a good close bargain; you must not only give the name of the Pope, but the passages of the sermon, and I will not only give the names of the bishops, but the passages of their sermons. It will be as well to inform you that unless you produce extracts

from the sermons of seven Popes, I shall be victorious. I doubt that you can produce a single passage. Yet there were some Popes who held the doctrine, but not in the way that you appear to insinuate; like the "Gratia Dei," the "jure divino" has a meaning which a little more examination into the law of nations, the feudal system, and Christian morality would exhibit, and which even natural religion, or the "jus divinum naturale," would establish for yourself as long as the constitution of Georgia permits it, and no longer. But, I consent that we shall not construe the passages of sermons on either side upon this sound principle; those which I have will not admit such construction; it is for you to say what construction your passages will require.

Now, your excellency must admit that in revolting against King George III, Mr. Jefferson and his associates were aided by a Catholic king, the eldest son of the Roman Catholic Church: and the revolt was against a Protestant king who persecuted Roman Catholics for not swearing that they would desert and reject the Pope. Yet, with admirable facility, with a tact peculiar to yourself, you give as the prelude to your insult upon the Roman Catholics and your assertions regarding the Pope, a declaration that the most inveterate of the enemies of Rome was the superstitious Protestant despot.

"Mr. Jefferson had already done enough for his country and for his own fame—he had marched with his comrades in the vanguard of freedom, had palsied the arm of despotism, broken the chains of superstition, declared the independence of his country, and promulgated the natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights of man."

In doing all which he was aided by Roman Catholics! A Roman Catholic signature to his declaration pledged not only life and sacred honor, but a million of money; General Washington testified that no blood was more freely shed in defence of Mr. Jefferson's principles, than that of Roman Catholics; the king of a Catholic nation, the king of all others most attached to Rome, sent his

fleets and armies to be the copartners in palsying the despot's arm and breaking the chains of superstition. What superstition? Certainly not Roman Catholic; because there was no Catholic superstition to enchain any person whom Mr. Jefferson had freed. What then does it mean? Protestant superstition! Be it so, if you will. It is not my province to contend with you that it was not. But if so, I ask you, why you attack the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church in the next paragraph? Come, honestly declare that you used the words as many of our fellow-citizens use them every day, merely for their sound, and without considering whether they had reason or not. Why would you then carelessly insult a large portion of your fellow-citizens? I have done.

TRUE BASIS OF REPUBLICANISM.[1]

"And I proclaimed there a fast by the river Ahava, that we might ct ourselves before the Lord our God, and might ask of Him a right for us, and for our children, and for all our substance."—*1 Esdras, iii, v. 21.*

THIS declaration exhibits the acts of him who was missioned to aid in rebuilding the temple of the Lord his country and for his people. They had been scourged the hand of God on account of their transgressions, l now assembled together and were seen entering into mselves to repent of their sins—determined to remember l apply that principle of religion which their fathers l forgotten and which they had neglected, but the ervance of which they now found must necessarily be true and only basis of their prosperity. They had l many occasions to see the truth of that declaration; the Lord build not the house, in vain doth man eavor to raise it. The history of preceding generations l exhibited to them the wonderful works of God ards their own and other nations. They had seen that race was not always to the swift nor the victory ays to him who, from his superior strength, was led expect it. They looked back through the lapse of rs, and beheld their fathers released from their bond- in Egypt, the horses and chariots of their oppressor rthrown, and his armies swallowed up in the Red Sea, they pursued his late captives. In the pride of his rt he had said: "They shall again be mine; with ins will I bind them and they shall serve me—they l their children." But he counted that it was an arm flesh that he opposed, but he soon realized that he l to struggle against the God of heaven. When he

[1] Preached at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston, May 14, 1841, the day of nal fast throughout the United States.

beheld his chariots and his horsemen buried in the waves of the sea, he knew it was the Lord who had done this thing. So when Israel contended against Amalek, the victory was achieved by him who had been raised up by the hand of the Lord. And Ezra, looking back and beholding these things, and feeling a great desire to build up the prosperity of Judah, knew that it must be done through the blessing of heaven and not by the cunning devices of man; therefore in his affliction, he commanded the people to afflict themselves and observe a day of fasting before the Lord. And we, my brethren, called together in so solemn a manner, after a dispensation which is new to us, should prostrate ourselves before God, and beseech of Him His blessing, that He will secure to us the fruit of so many a wise council and so many a well-fought field—and that we may, serving the Lord with our whole hearts, have our days serene upon the earth, and through the merits of our Saviour, enter at last into regions better than these.

After a contest peculiarly marked by vigorous contention, we beheld it settled in the one constitutional way. We beheld the man who was the choice of a majority of the States and the people, raised to a station so high that the monarchs of the old world might envy it. We saw him take the solemn oath prescribed for his office, and about to enter upon the more active discharge of his duties. And we then beheld him in a moment stricken down, as it were, by an arrow from the grave! We have seen the calculations and the hopes of those who had for years deliberated and toiled, baffled and overthrown at the very moment when they seemed to be fully realized—the cup that was already lifted to the lip dashed from the hand—and twenty-six independent though connected republics astounded by an event as unexpected as it was unforeseen. We see every child of the republic weeping for the death of a common father, forgetting their dissensions, their divided interests, their clashing opinions, and compelled to feel how impotent are the exertions of man unless they

e ratified by God. They and we are approaching to-day ur holy altars, to the end that we may so repent of our ins, that we may have peace and prosperity bestowed upon s by heaven. We pray to God that He may protect nd bless us, and so prosper our endeavors, that our ountry may be enabled to take and maintain her high lace among the nations of the earth—so that peace may e our crown here, and happiness our reward hereafter.

There is one peculiarity which forcibly strikes us in he midst of this scene, and which may not inappropriately e noticed here. Our minds are drawn to the contemplaion of the wisdom which pervaded the councils of those rho framed the Constitution under which we live. They oresaw to what contingencies we might be liable, and rovided wisely and efficaciously for the wants which night arise. In past times, such an event as has now efallen us would have carried desolation and ruin into ny republic; the nation, without a head, would have been haken to its centre, dissolved into its original elements and rom the highest glory cast down into utter disgrace. But behold, by the peaceful and legal operations of the rovisions of our Constitution, all this is avoided. One s raised up to supply the place of him who is gone, nd everything moves on as before. No change takes lace. Our relations abroad, our councils at home, are naltered and undisturbed. Everything is preserved in hat perfect order which has been secured to us by the isdom of those men of former times who framed our overnment. A source this is of great gratulation to ourelves, that by the blessing of God—even in the midst f party interests and political contests—by an exact bservance of those principles we all have sworn to mainain, through a scene like this we can go on without eeling those convulsions which would have uprooted nother people.

But we should not rest on this. We should teach urselves to look forward and see in what manner we ay secure the continuance of these blessings to our hildren and our children's children.

There is one principle of our political condition, which is laid down by all parties and acknowledged on all hands. It is that the basis on which our institutions rest is the popular will. The monarch may wield his sceptre and keep his people in subjection, even though corruption reign in his court; and by that very corruption, it may be, he can most effectually preserve his authority. But not so with republicanism. Its energy lost—its power at an end—all the happiness which that species of government brings to the people gone—it becomes the vision of an idle dream, if the people be corrupt. The power of the rulers is the gift of the people—the choice of the rulers is the duty of the people—and if, in making that choice the people look to their own individual and personal interests more than to the fitness of him who is chosen, if a spirit of mere partisanship obtain, a compromise be made for private purposes, between him who chooses and him who is chosen—then, indeed, republicanism is near its end. It cannot subsist where there is no virtue, for that which led to an aberration from principle in the first place, will lead to a continuance of that aberration. And thus the regarding the private good of each and not the public good of all, on the part of the citizens, is the principle which will destroy the institutions of republicanism.

Our principle is this: That the man should be chosen for ruler, who is best qualified to fill the station, with respect to the good of the whole nation. It is necessary therefore, that the people should be of a generous disposition; that they should be moved to prefer the public good to individual gain, (and this, in the end, will best protect the individual); that they should entertain a spirit of altruism and not of selfishness. But how is this spirit to be preserved? Only by each one cultivating it for himself. We have heard of patriotism—we have indeed seen instances of patriotism—but, as regards the world in general, the word is merely an empty sound. Where then *is this* spirit to be found? I answer, in religion. If a

man feels an interest not only in this passing hour, but feels likewise that he is to be placed before the bar of a Judge who sees into the inmost recess of his heart, and who will render unto him, not according to his deeds only, but according to his thoughts also—then will he feel his responsibility to God for the faithful discharge of his whole duty to man. Religion teaches man to love his neighbor as himself, and, consequently, to uphold those institutions which confer the most happiness on the whole—to transmit to others blessings which have been secured to him. And if it teaches him this, then indeed by religion we can bind a man stronger than by any bond this world exhibits; since his fate for eternity is bound up with his due discharge of his duty as a citizen.

This, then, is the great conservative principle of republicanism. And if we look to the history of the chosen people of God in ancient times, we shall find that their religion was the sole foundation of their greatness. So long as they observed the Commandments of God, they found peace, prosperity and happiness. The moment they swerved from their duty, their enemies were let in upon them; and instead of being the glory of the Lord of hosts, they became a byword and a jest to the nations. Though they had the outward semblance of a people, it was a shadow which belied. And so it will be with us, if we forget our gratitude to God and the republic at large, and substitute for a sense of that duty a looking after private interest, a bargaining for place and power. If the great conservative principle of religion is replaced by these, then indeed shall we be able to make no calculation upon principle or virtue—then indeed shall we be but a byword and a mockery.

And on this day it is the great and solemn duty of each one of us, to enter into his own heart, and before Him who sees the heart, examine himself. His question should be: "From what motive did I act in exercising my privilege by casting a vote?—what object had I? Did I seek *the benefit* of the people at large, the safety

of the Constitution—or was it from a wish for place, a bargain with one, or a chaffer with another? Was it from hatred, or malice, or revenge, or ambition, or from a sincere wish to discharge my duty? I was given a voice in the election; and how did I act?" Too often, my hearers, too often do we forget that the right of suffrage is not a privilege conferred upon us for the advancement of our private interest, but that it is a great duty, for the whole discharge of which we are amenable to heaven. The permanence and prosperity of our institutions can be secured only by each individual exercising his political rights according to his conscience, and not from interested private views. This is what we call popular virtue, and this alone is the solid basis on which republicanism can rest.

And let me briefly remark here upon a few of the temptations which tend to the counteraction of this principle. Unfortunately our country, especially in these latter days, has presented but too many of them. One of the strongest of these temptations is the spirit of avarice, which, wholly regardless of the rights of others, seeks only individual profit, and power and place as a means of profit. I speak not now in a party spirit, for I know none; but I must say that never were the words of Scripture more perfectly applicable than to us: "To love riches leadeth a man into great peril." There has been, and is, a spirit of wild speculation abroad, which has supplanted in a great degree the spirit of patient and untiring industry. If, however, we look to the day in which those men were found who achieved the independence and framed the Constitution of the country, and ask of what disposition those men were, we shall find that they sought not, by wild speculation, at once to grow rich—but that they believed that the blessing of God rested upon honest labor, and that the will of God has assigned to each one his place. They also thought that the spirit of true religion is for man to bow down in submission to the will of God, to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and

by labor to fulfil his part of the penance imposed on all. They taught their children to labor. And in this belief and in this instruction, we should follow their example. They were animated by the spirit of the wise man, when he exclaimed: "Give me neither poverty nor riches, for the one may tempt me, and the other lead me to despise my fellow-men: but give me competence and a feeling of independence, that I may keep Thy Commandments, O Lord, and at my death be borne by angels to Abraham's bosom." Oh, my brethren, the tempting spirit against which I would have you guard, is that which causes man to place his hopes, his happiness, his enjoyment, upon that wealth which is too suddenly acquired, and to withdraw his heart from the contemplation of a happy abode in heaven. Never were the liberties of the country more endangered than from the prevalence of a spirit like this; never were they safer than in the hands of those whose principle is that happiness is to be found in the continuance of labor.

I would again impress upon you as the first great principle which religion teaches, in reference to our duties as citizens, that the greatest caution should be maintained against that seductive spirit which would, by undermining private integrity, lead men to bestow their suffrages in elections to public office, from a sole regard to their individual interests. Guard well against that, and, by the blessing of heaven, our republic is safe; once yield, and our liberties are destroyed.

My brethren, there is another topic which, as connected with this, it may not be unprofitable to look at. To a certain extent in every free country, some degree of opposition of parties is eminently useful; if kept within proper bounds, instead of a curse, it is a blessing. It leads to a watchfulness for the national good in the people, and guards jealously against the rulers taking the property of the people, under the pretext of its being done for the public protection. But there is another spirit of party, or rather a spirit of *persecution*, of which, unfortunately, we have

not been without exhibitions in this country. They who framed the Constitution sought to guard against it as far as possible, and accordingly provided for universal toleration in religious matters. But, unhappily, they have not completely succeeded in preventing its manifestation. Believing, as I do, that truth is single and indivisible, and that two contradictory principles cannot at the same time be true, that religion consists in the worship of God in spirit and in truth, that the Bible contains the Word of God, and that the spirit of revelation is consistent in itself—I am forced to believe that there cannot be two religions. I look upon it as an extraordinary manifestation of the weakness of the human mind, to maintain that two religions—the one denying what the other asserts—can both be true. But where persons are seeking for truth, they are not always capable of seeing it; and where men honestly differ in opinion, it would be uncharitable, it would be irreligious for any one to condemn his fellow, because he could not agree with him. For myself, I have no more doubt than I have of my existence, which is the true religion—the religion that Jesus Christ delivered to His Apostles, and which they spread abroad in their own time and handed down to after generations; but I am not to say that it is equally clear to every other mind. There could not be a more criminal act on my part, than to depart from the religion which I believe and proclaim, but another may conscientiously feel it to be impossible to believe with me. Hence, I must leave the judgment to God. I cannot say to him: "I know that what you profess is not true"—but I may say: "I have no doubt that what the Saviour taught is what I believe, but I know not the lights you may have had. God does. To Him, therefore, you must stand or fall." This is that spirit of toleration which, in a society like ours, ought always to exist; it is that duty of charity which we all owe to one another. These differences should not make us hostile; we should alike uphold the Constitution, the interest of the country, the social charities of life; we

ought to know no distinction of creed in all this. Even if the Word of the Lord has never sounded in the ear of our fellow-man, still we have been created by a common God; the blood of the Saviour has been shed for him as well as for us; and that Saviour may yet raise him much above ourselves. Even as Saul, who held the garments of the men who stoned St. Stephen, afterwards became the greatest of the Apostles, as by a flash from heaven; so may the same power which caused his conversion, make him who differs widely from us now go far beyond us in the path which we pursue. Hence, that spirit which would denounce those who differ from us, is one destructive of Christian charity and inimical to the principle of good. It was not in this spirit that the Constitution enacted that there should be no preference of one religion over another; it was in direct opposition to it that the enlightened minds who framed that instrument yielded to the better conviction of their hearts, and blotted from the statute-book all exceptions to the great principle of right which has granted to all full freedom of conscience and worship. Their declaration was: "Let each, according to his own conscience, worship his Maker; but let not the spirit of persecution be found."

This caused the healthy action of the infant republic; but, unfortunately, we have seen in later times a disposition to forget the great lesson thus inculcated, and to revert to a persecuting spirit. I care not from what this arose—under what pretext it was urged—by what reasons or excuses it was defended or palliated. It is lamentable that in any man it should be found to exist. But wherever it does exist, its evils are two-fold. It injures him who cherishes it and him who is its victim. In the one it engenders a spirit of domination over his fellow, and in the other a perpetual temptation to hatred and revenge. It is a spirit which separates brother from brother and induces mutual distrust. It may even graft itself upon political feeling or partisanship; it may cause political principles to be blended with religious distinc-

tion; and then we have at once a union of Church State, the antagonist of civil liberty.

Let me entreat all who hear me, first to seek to e cate this spirit from their own hearts, and then to de it wherever it may be found. The good of the natic large requires the sacrifice of individual preferences, they who have been the victims of a spirit of persec hitherto, should lay their sufferings, as an obliga upon the altar of the common good; so that they forgot for the moment their true principle and caused evil to exist, may cause it to be obliterated as as possible. Thus, instead of being a collection of pe professing to be one brotherhood, and yet differen opinion and hostile in feeling, we shall be, in truth, for the benefit of our common country, for the prom of our mutual happiness, for our highest welfare and hereafter.

In a large portion of the civilized world, charges prevalent against the Catholic religion as being in patible with civil and religious liberty. On what are charges founded? From the pages of history it is inf that the Roman Catholic religion is at war with the s of republicanism. But allow me to ask in what The principle of republicanism is the equality of We teach that all Christians have a common Parent; all are equally redeemed by the blood of the Saviour; all must appear before a common God who knows distinction of persons. Where, then, is the inconsiste Look through the records of the world, and see where principles of true republicanism are first to be fo They had their origin in Christianity, and their ear instance is in the Church of which we are members. institutions are eminently republican. Her rulers chosen by the common consent; her officers are obl to account strictly to those over whom they preside; guide is a written constitution of higher force than will of any individual. What call you this? Aristocr Monarchy? It is republicanism. Look again. Where

the bulwarks found that stayed the ravages of the barbarians of the North, when they devastated the South of Europe? In the republican Catholic States of Italy. Go to a nation still more familiar to you—search the pages of English history. One strain pervades them all—a perpetual assault upon the memory of the prelates of the Catholic Church. Charges are brought that they were overbearing, haughty and tyrannical. Where are the proofs? There are none. Go to the records of parliament, and you will find the same thing there. Look at Britain in more ancient times, before the Norman conquest. One of her kings sent to Rome—he addressed the Pope, and requested of him a code of laws for the government of his realm. What was the answer of this haughty, tyrannical, all-grasping potentate, who is represented as having his foot upon the necks of kings and emperors? It may even now be found in her archives. "I can give you principles, but not laws. Your duty as a monarch is to consult your men of wisdom, acquainted with the wishes and necessities of your people; regulate your conduct by their advice, but govern your land in your own way. Nations differ widely, and that which is proper for one might be highly injurious to another." The principles of the common law, that mighty fabric in which English liberty is said to reside, have been traced back to the Catholic Church. In this, then, is the germ of liberty to be found. After the Norman Conquest—then it was that the conqueror dictated to his captives his own laws. But who refused to bow down in tame submission to his usurpation? The bishops of England were the men. They rested their claims upon the ancient compact; they took the laws of Alfred and of Edward, and from these they demanded of the conqueror himself an acknowledgment of the rights secured to the people by Edward. And when the base hypocrite, John, endeavored still more closely than before to fetter the people, it was the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of England that resisted his power. At *the field* of Runnymede they wrung from

his reluctant hand the Magna Charta, which is regarded as the English constitution, but which is only a part of what the people enjoyed under the laws of Alfred.

These are the men who have been stigmatized as proud, as haughty, as ambitious. They were ambitious—just as your Hancocks were ambitious—just as your Warrens were ambitious—just as your Montgomerys were ambitious—just as those other men were ambitious who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the support of that declaration whose successful maintenance wrested from the monarch of England the political rights which we now enjoy. But the historians of England, even while the word of liberty was upon their lips, filled their pages with misrepresentations of the principles of the Catholic prelates and calumnies upon their characters. Why was this? Because the Catholic religion was prescribed law. Hence it is that the pages of history have been garbled and distorted by the British historian, because the Catholic prelates resisted to the utmost the unjust encroachments of the British kings. The history of the American colonies, before they became an independent nation, more especially during the earlier years of their settlement, exhibits marked indications of the same spirit of intolerance towards the Catholic religion; and this, too, on the part of those who themselves fled to this continent as a refuge from religious persecution. In this we find the explanation why, for generation after generation, the same charges against Catholicism have been made; because the same dynasties have been set up, and its opposition has been the same to all. But if we endeavor to correct this source of evil, if we say: "Let history be divested of its prejudices and misrepresentations; let education be separated from sectarianism; let the truth alone be recorded and taught"—then are we told—we have been told—that we are turbulent and discontented. Even in this country attempts have been made to divide the republic on account of religious differences; but, thank heaven! the public mind *is* becoming more and more enlightened on this point,

and men are beginning to perceive that the greatest curse which could befall our country, would be the encouragement of any spirit of sectarian persecution. Let us beseech God, in His infinite mercy to avert from us all such a spirit of uncharitableness and unkindness. Before heaven, let us always avoid it. Let us be a band of brothers as to our common rights; as to our religious differences, let us bury them. Would to God that we may always act in this manner—that we may overcome the spirit of our nature and imbibe only the spirit of Christian charity. Oh! that we all may, with reference to our opponents, enter into the blessed spirit of that prayer: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Let us, then, endeavor with all our might to reduce these principles to practice, and in the discharge of our duty to the republic, regard it as a duty to God. Thus shall we achieve the great object of our Constitution; thus shall we obtain of God His blessing. If we are assailed from abroad, let us join together as a band of brothers to repel the assault. Thus shall peace, and happiness, and prosperity reign among us; thus shall we be contented with the things and the liberty given to us in this transitory scene, having our eyes fixed on the better things and the true liberty, promised to us in heaven, as the children of God.

THE REPUBLIC IN DANGER.[1]

I.

It is some time since I called public attention to an essay which appeared in the *Christian Advocate*, denying the fact of St. Peter having been at Rome. That periodical work was under the management of the Rev. Dr. Green, a Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia; and the appearance of the essay, together with the comments by which it was accompanied, were intended to insinuate that the claims made by the Roman Catholic Church were unfounded.[2] I have been informed by several respectable persons who differ from me in religious belief, that the evidence which I then hastily collected was abundantly sufficient to remove every shadow of doubt, if any was entertained, that the glorious Apostle was in Rome, was bishop of that city, and died there. The Rev. Dr. Green, has so far as I can discover, never made any retraction, nor corrected the error into which he contributed to lead his readers, nor exhibited the least symptom of regret for the part which he and his clerical brother played upon that occasion.

I have since then marked with a greater degree of attention the proceedings of the body to which this minis-

[1] This series of letters was occasioned, as the short note accompanying the extract from the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, which is prefixed to it, shows, by the denunciations made against Catholics, in this and similar publications, as the enemies of civil freedom. It contains a brief history of the origin, progress and commencing decline of the systematic effort to crush the rights and liberties of the Catholic communion, by classing its members with criminals against the State; an analysis of the theory of the federal government of the United States, in its relation to moral and religious questions, in which the essential difference between it and the European polity of the Middle Ages is pointed out; a defence of the Catholics of the United States against the accusation of hostility to its civil institutions; and a delineation of the course of policy which the party calling itself "Evangelical" would seek to carry out, by means of a "Christian party in politics." The letters were first published in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, numbers 4-18, vol. ii for 1831, and afterwards republished in a pamphlet.

[2] See article "St. Peter's Roman Episcopate," vol. i.

ter belongs. Not only has it continued through a number of its presses to vilify and to misrepresent Roman Catholics, but it has by some of its publications endeavored to excite against them the suspicions and the hatred of all friends of civil and religious liberty. Not only has it sought, by means of associations formed under its auspices and directed by its influence, to secure for itself a wide-spread domination through the land; but it has collected vast sums of money, and prepared to organize a host of zealots to sweep from the valley of the Mississippi the religion of the survivor of that noble assembly that created the liberty which it enjoys. Not content with the possession of the vast power which it at present holds, it looks forward to the securing of a future monopoly, of a more extensive and absorbing nature, and hesitates not in the triumph of its calculations to anticipate what it considers the inevitable arrival of the millennium of its glory, when the youth that it now trains up shall with its principles assert their bloodless victory at the ballot boxes. Yet impatient of the delay and desirous of hastening the happy epoch, it makes unceasing efforts, at one moment to procure from Congress a fatal precedent in even one act of what it styles Christian legislation; and at another, to render Catholics more odious to their fellow-citizens or more suspected of being dangerous to the republic. Let it succeed in either way, and a passage will have been opened, through which it may pour the stream of its power, sweeping away the obstacles that retard, widening and deepening the channel by the impetuosity of its current, until, like so many new feeders, law gradually added to law shall have caused Church after Church to disappear; and if then an effort should be made to stop the torrent, if the dam itself should not be swept away, the inundation would spread over the face of the land and overwhelm the inhabitants.

I am not the only one who has beheld this; I am but one out of millions to whom it was visible; and, though silent until now upon the subject, I have heard and the

public has heard the facts proclaimed by very many; and I submit to Americans whether the assertions which I make are not sustained, amongst others, by the article entitled "The Republic in Danger," which has been published in the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, in the city of Richmond, in Virginia, and reprinted in the *Catholic Miscellany*.

The body to which I thus allude is not the Presbyterian Church. There are a large number of the members of that Church who have too much love of civil and religous liberty, too much affection for their fellow-citizens, and too deep a sense of common honesty to belong to the association. Nor is it confined to the Presbyterian denomination, though a number of the Presbyterian presses are the chief instruments for disseminating its principles: it embraces a vast multitude of other sects of various religious sentiments and forms of government. It is composed of the elect, the more sanctified and perfect of the land, as they esteem themselves; who leagued together in a holy covenant, to wage a war of extermination against infidels and Roman Catholics, are urged by as pythonic a spirit against unbelievers and "the beast," as their predecessors in Europe were against the Turk and the Pope, and frequently with the Turk against the Holy Father.

I consider then the production which I now undertake to review, not as a document of any one of the Churches of our country, but as publishing the well-known sentiments of a large body diffused through several of the Churches and spread through all the States. Whatever the other objects of this body may be, I shall not now undertake to develop; but shall confine myself at present to showing that its treatment of Roman Catholics is not only uncharitable and unjust, but is manifestly at variance with the spirit of our political institutions.

I shall quote from their own version of the Scriptures the description given by St. Paul of charity, in the thirteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians: "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity

vaunteth not herself, is not puffed up, doth not behave herself unseemingly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things."

Whoever reads their productions, whether they be the reports of Bible distributions, of tract supplyings, of missions abroad or at home, of temperance societies, of revivals, or "Sabbath" observance societies, or whatever else that belongs to the associated body, will necessarily often meet with mention of Roman Catholics, and one of the leading exhibitions is the vulgar and unkind substitution of nicknames for the appellation by which this body is and has been known throughout the world. Great Britain, it is true, took the lead in this lowest species of offensive, unkind, unseemly, insulting, and therefore uncharitable scurrility; not indeed in point of time or of virulence, but of legalized and common phraseology. Luther previously had bestowed the appellation of Antichrist upon the Pope for the first time in 1520; designated him as the Roman homicide, and threatened "that the name of the Pope should be taken from beneath the heavens:" he called him "a wolf possessed by an evil spirit." On a subsequent occasion he declared that "the Pope was so full of devils, that he spit them and blew them from his nose."

In his subsequent writings he uses nicknames where he can, and would not vouchsafe to the adherents of the ancient Church any name but that of Papists. I do not now enter upon the question of his doctrine or his mission, but I assert, that be the errors of those whom we oppose what they may, the bestowal of a nickname is an evidence of the want of common courtesy; kindness and charity are violated by the persons who continued to use the term, especially in the spirit which gave it origin. It was in the same spirit that Luther in 1534 called Henry VIII of England, "a fool," "an idiot," "the most brutal of swine and asses." It was in the same spirit that when he came forth, in 1521, from his Patmos, as he called

the place of his retreat, he declared in his sermon in the church at Wittemberg: "It was the word, whilst I slept quietly and drank my beer with my dear Melancthon and Amsdorf, that gave the Papacy such a shock;" and that, when he threatened to re-establish the Mass, he asks his associates: "What hurt will the Popish Mass do you?" It was in this spirit that he styled Rome, Babylon, the Pope, the man of sin, the beast, etc., and the Church, the whore of Babylon, etc. Indeed, he left scarcely room to any succeeding imagination to extend the nicknomenclature.

Yet, though to him is due the invention, Great Britain has the discredit of introducing this vocabulary into her public legislation, and her high authority made that fashionable which in its origin and its essence was vulgar, unseemly and uncharitable. The object was to express contempt, which is not only unkind but is never sought after, save by those who are envious, vaunting, or puffed up. It contains no argument, but betrays a symptom of its absence; for it is generally observed that he who is anxious to fasten a nickname upon his adversary, seldom makes the effort until he has failed in adducing a reason. The works of the principal English Protestant divines will go down to other days, lamentable monuments of the fact, that a perverse fashion is able to contaminate with rude and uncharitable vulgarity minds of the first order and of the best education. The statute book has, however, ceased to be the vehicle of scurrility, not only in Great Britain, but in the United States. During upwards of thirty years the calm and steady process of critical investigation has continued to rub away the stains which the reckless spirit of a bad and disastrous age has fastened upon those who were exhibited as too contemptible for association, too wicked for endurance, though not too poor to be victims of rapacity; for such was the state to which the Catholic subjects of the British crown were reduced by the potent spell of nicknames and persevering audacity of unrestrained calumny. The plots with which they were charged are now acknowledged by the highest authorities

to have been fictions. The credit of the Rev. Titus Oates and the inscription of the London pillar have vanished forever. Great Britain no longer enacts laws to prevent the growth of Popery, but to emancipate Roman Catholics; she no longer confiscates the property of Papists, neither does she adjudge Romish ecclesiastics to be felons, nor will her polished society permit the feelings of their associates to be wounded by the vulgar phraseology, to perpetuate and to revive which an effort however is made by the over righteous; who eaten up with the zeal which devours them, lament the relaxation of the penal code and the prospect of parliamentary reform; and they shed tears for the abominations of negro slavery, and muster their forces to obtain for that degenerate race the sympathy which they denied to those with whom they had a more intimate relation. Whilst they bewail the destitution of the negro in Jamaica, they vociferate their abuse of the Irish Papists, and exhibit a genuine specimen of the spirit with which they are possessed, in preventing the collection of funds for the relief of the starving Catholic population of Ireland, because the forlorn beings will not forego the convictions of their consciences nor purchase temporary relief by abominable hypocrisy. These are the men who, at the other side of the Atlantic, would by the irritation of nicknames add rancor to the excessive bitterness of sectarian animosity.

The colonies of Great Britain necessarily partook of the spirit of the mother country. Hence in the act of 1696–7 "for making aliens free of this part of the province (Carolina), and for granting liberty of conscience to all Protestants," we read in the enacting part: "That all Christians which now are, or hereafter may be, in the province (Papists only excepted), shall enjoy the full, free and undisturbed liberty of their consciences," etc. It was the same in the other provinces at this period, so far as I can ascertain; and so far as the degradation of a nickname could be inflicted, it was legally and unsparingly bestowed. It will not perhaps be amiss in this place to

contrast the early legislation of what previous to that period was a Catholic colony, with the legislative practice which I thus impeach.

In March, 1638, chap. i, of the laws which the freemen of Maryland passed, the first part ordained "that the holy Church (Roman Catholic) within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." In the same session, in "a bill for the liberties of the people," the principle was recognized which constituted the uniform rule of the Catholic legislature of that province, viz: "All Christian inhabitants (slaves excepted) to have and enjoy such rights, liberties, immunities, privileges and free customs within this province, as any natural born subject of England hath or ought to have or enjoy in the realm of England by force or virtue of the common law or statute law of England." Bill 19, "an act for peopling the province," describes the settlers to be recognized only by the name of Christians. In 1640, the act for Church liberties was passed, which enacts that "holy Church within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties and franchises, wholly and without blemish." A number of Protestants having subsequently come into the province and made settlements, religious disputes began, and offensive language became annoying; the assembly of April, 1649, passed "an act concerning religion," the 3d section of which enacts that "persons reproaching any other within the province by the name or denomination of Heretic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Papist-priest, Jesuit, Jesuited-Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Round-head Separatist, or any other name or term, in a reproachful manner, relating to any matter of religion, should forfeit ten shillings sterling for each offence; one-half to the person reproached, the other half to the lord proprietor: or in default of payment, to be publicly whipped, and to suffer imprisonment without bail or main-prize, until the offender shall satisfy the party reproached, by asking of him or her respectively forgiveness, publicly, for such an offence, before

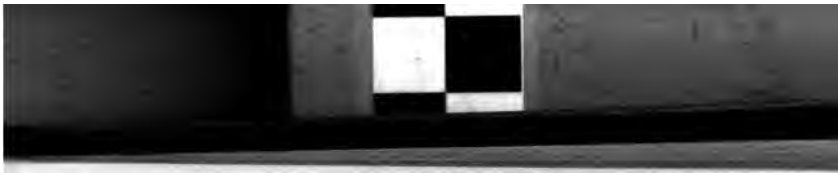
the chief officer or magistrate of the town or place where the offence shall be given."

Thus, whilst the Roman Catholics vindicated the rights and liberties of their Church, they not only laid the foundations of our religious liberty at this side of the Atlantic, but they gave equal protection to the feelings of their Protestant brethren as they claimed for their own. It is in the fifth section of this act, that the wise and just provision is contained, which gave Catholic Maryland the glorious prerogative of being the mother of religious liberty in America.

The first exhibition of legal vulgarity that we find in the laws of Maryland is in the fourth of the acts passed at a general assembly held at Patuxent, on the 20th of October, 1654, by commission from his highness the lord protector, Cromwell. But the reader will observe the manner in which every innovation is palpable, for this manifestly indicates its spirit by substituting the new appellation which was not commonly known, but was invented to insult and to degrade, for the old name which, time out of mind, had designated the body which it was intended to vilify and to injure. This was also "an act concerning religion," and it provided: "That none who professed and exercised the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion, could be protected in this province by the laws of England formerly established and not yet repealed;" "that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from but be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, . . . provided such liberty should not be construed as extending to Popery," etc. And this was not opposed by the Protestant Episcopalians, who were received when they sought hospitality in Maryland from the Catholics, not being able to have a resting place with the Puritans of New England; but it was chiefly enacted by the Puritans, who feeling the domination of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the old dominion,

were hospitably received and warmed in the bosom of this Catholic colony of Maryland. This law ceased to operate in 1658, and the old law of 1649 was gradually restored to execution and was made perpetual in 1676. But on the 23d of August, 1689, a convention met at St. Mary's "by virtue of letters missive from the several commanders, officers and gentlemen associated in arms, for the defence of the Protestant religion and asserting the title of William and Mary." Now this association had not the shadow of a pretext for charging their Catholic brethren with any, even an unkind expression, much less with any attempt to injure them, because of their religion; they were equally protected, represented and representatives, as the Catholics; they had offices in more than their ratio of numbers: but now they assumed a monopoly, and Maryland not only saw the Catholics deprived of power, but placed under the operation of the English code of insult and persecution. It was therefore true that at the period of the Carolina act, 1696, the Catholics were equally insulted in the other provinces. Even Pennsylvania in this year, 1696, in the act of October 26, went no farther to secure religious liberty, than to enact that persons who made affirmation, that is, Quakers, should be considered equally qualified as if they had sworn to the declaration of the first William and Mary, exempting their majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws: and under the laws in force at that period, the nicknames were in full vigor against the feelings of Roman Catholics, and Catholics were liable to the penalties. But Maryland, of all other provinces, was the most insulting, as she was the specially ungrateful.

I shall adduce only one instance as an example. In the year 1715 she passed a law, of which the following is the title: "An act, laying an imposition on negroes and on several sorts of liquors imported, and also on Irish servants, to prevent importing too great a number of *Irish* Papists into this province." The naval officer was



to execute this law. In 1717, the general assembly of Maryland again placed the negroes and Irish Papists on a level, and deeming it expedient to double the tax on the latter, did the same for their associates, lest there should be any jealousy: "An act for laying an additional duty of twenty shillings current money, per poll, on all Irish servants, being Papists, to prevent the growth of Popery, by the importation of too great a number of them into this province: and also an additional duty of twenty shillings current money, per poll, on all negroes, for raising a fund, for the use of public schools within the several counties of this province." For the better discovery of the Papist, section 2 empowers and requires the naval officer to tender the oaths appointed by the act of assembly, as also the abjuration and the test, to every Irish servant except children under fourteen years of age.

Thus habituated to the degradation of the members of our Church, the feelings of the community became torpid upon the subject; and the man who would go to death itself rather than suffer a contumelious word or the application of an epithet of contempt to himself, his party, or his Church, expected that a Catholic should quietly submit to the load of nicknames, which, with equal want of taste, of manners, and of charity, were now made the familiar language of laws and of society in his regard.

It is true, there is an objection of which we are not altogether unmindful; one imposed upon us by Him, who, for our sakes, underwent not only mockery and contumely, but even death. By that obligation we should submit; and some of us have rejoiced to be thought worthy of contumely for His sake; and there is more Christian fortitude evinced by the coercion of our feelings, than there is Christian charity in assailing them. We may, therefore, upon this score, profit by the insolence of which I complain.

As in Great Britain, so in America, the legislative bodies have grown too refined for this, formerly, fashionable *vulgarity.* Well-informed gentlemen have also learned

to speak and to write with becoming dignity and in appropriate language; but, unfortunately, when we cast our eyes around, and institute a general comparison, we must candidly avow, that in this respect we are as far behind Great Britain as she is behind the continent of Europe in this species of politeness.

II.

I have endeavored to show the origin of the nicknames, Antichrist, Papist, Beast, Babylon, Romanist, Romish, Popish, Scarlet Whore, etc., applied to the Pope, to Roman Catholics, and to the Catholic Church. I have been, perhaps, somewhat prolix in the exhibition of facts to enable Americans to solve the apparent difficulty, how well-educated gentlemen could be degraded into vulgarity; and in doing this, I have brought to view a melancholy picture; its colors were bold and flaming, and its shades were very dark; it was no common spectacle. Americans have seen the Irish Catholic, upon his arrival in America, legally degraded to the level of the negro slave; and this in a province where, when all around, in every other settlement of this country, the most heartless bigotry held unrestricted sway, Catholics, under the spiritual administration of Jesuits, first kindled at the fire of Christian charity that torch of religious freedom which was subsequently quenched in their own tears. Allow me the poor but the gratifying consolation of cherishing, with fondness that increases with my years, the memory of those good Catholic freemen of Maryland, who erected for the American citizens of after times that beacon light, which, though extinguished by others, yet, after the days of captivity had passed away, blazed forth upon the first sacrifices having been offered upon the altar of liberty, as did that sacred flame which the priests of Israel hid upon their going to Babylon, but which was miraculously reproduced in the days of Nehemias. Yes! the associates may sneer at me, for my "man-worship," if they will; they may cry, "to

the law and the testimony," whose meaning they mistake; they may appear zealous for the honor of that God by whose charity and whose justice those good men, whose memory I hold in benediction, were led; they may proclaim me an idolater, but, in this respect, I feel in their regard what an old Irish Catholic chieftain expressed even after a field of disaster, where his son had fallen in the glorious discharge of a noble duty: "I would not give my dead son for all the living heroes they possess." No! That single clause of the law which they enacted to prohibit nicknames in 1649, is of more value, in my estimation, than if all the mail stages in the Union should be obliged to stop, from midnight on Saturday to midnight on Sunday; than if every man, woman, and child was compelled, on the Lord's day, to live on cold food, and all the mothers to be prohibited from kissing their children on the "Sabbath," as it is called. Excuse me for this ebullition of feeling, into the restraint of which I have not yet been subdued.

The changes in religion, which I cannot be expected to call a Reformation, did not stop exactly at that point which they who made the first alterations thought proper to prescribe. The principles of the Catholic Church are, that faith is the belief of what God has taught; that all men are bound to believe His revelation; that it was perfected by Jesus Christ; that this divine Saviour commissioned His Apostles and those whom they should associate to their body and the regular successors in that tribunal, to testify those doctrines to the world; and that under His protection, though a few individuals might err, the vast majority of this tribunal will always and infallibly testify that which came down from the beginning; and that the doctrine of Christ was to be ascertained by the testimony of this tribunal and not by the conjectures of individuals. When they who, with Luther, separated from the great body and opposed the tribunal, undertook to judge, each for himself, the meaning of the sacred volume, they destroyed all claim of authority in any

tribunal, to require of any individual submission to its testimony or to learn from it. All their members claimed to be each taught of God. Vast numbers claimed the privilege of divine inspiration; and whilst, with one accord, they all proclaimed that no assembly was infallibly correct in the interpretation of the sacred volume, nor even in ascertaining what books were inspired by the Holy Ghost, yet each individual spoke and acted as if he was himself infallible. The Church of England having separated from the Catholic Church, which she accused of error, could claim no higher privilege for herself; and she felt exceedingly awkward and ridiculous in declaring that they who, imitating her own example, differed from her in doctrine and separated from her, were heretics. Every reasonable person must instantly perceive that it would be, in this state of things, palpably absurd to expect unity of doctrine; or for any person to undertake, upon those principles, to determine who was right or who was wrong. Every man gave his opinion as to what Christ taught, but no one could be certain that his opinion was the doctrine of the Apostles; because there was scarcely a doctrine upon which all were agreed. The Bible was for them, not a book of peace and reconciliation, but was an occasion of dispute and discord. Notwithstanding the dictation of Luther, the divisions of the continental Protestants daily multiplied. And in spite of the power of the British government, the Church of England found herself assailed by a more restless and a more worrying foe than the Papists, by the Reformers of the Reformation. I shall not enter into their history; my object is merely to continue the history of nicknames, and to discover the spirit which has preserved them.

The various divisions of Presbyterians and Independents, who desired to purify the Church of England from what they called the dregs of Popery, now turned the weapons of that unfortunate Church against herself. She had abused Papists, and they called her members Papists in disguise. All that the Church of England had said

of Romanists and the beast, the Puritans gave back to herself, with such usury as would have contented the most demure and sober-minded and avaricious money-lender. Thus, in their mutual scurrility, there was one neutral ground on which they met, one postulate was fully conceded by each to the other, viz.: That no abuse could be too bad for the Papists; and that the highest offence which either could give to the other would be, to assert that it bore some mark of the beast. So that, even in their mutual conflicts, the Roman Catholic Church was the greatest sufferer; and men became accustomed to consider the propriety of our degradation as perfectly unquestionable. Allow me, however disgusting they may be, to give a few specimens of the manner in which the Puritans made their onslaught.

Bishop Bancroft gives us the following specimen of the manner in which the non-conformists assailed the English Protestant Church: "Christ's religion is fondly patched with the Pope's; the communion book is an imperfect book, culled and picked out of that Romish dunghill, the Portyse and Mass Book. The sacraments are wickedly mangled and profaned; they eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of their own to blind the people; their pomps, rites, laws and traditions are anti-Christian, carnal, beggarly Popish fooleries, Romish relics and rags of Antichrist, dregs and remnants of transformed Popery; Pharisaical outward faces and vizzards, remnants of Romish Antichrist, a cursed leaven of a cursed blasphemous priesthood, known liveries of Antichrist; cursed patches of Popery and idolatry, they are worse than lousie."[1]

One of their orators declaiming before the parliament on September 24, 1656, praising God for delivering them from the Protestant Episcopal Church of England, described the observances of that species of Protestants: "Altar genuflexions, cringings, with crossings, and all that Popish trash and trumpery"—"the removal of these insupportable burdens countervailed for the blood and treasure shed and spent in the late distractions." The following curious

[1] "Dangerous Positions," b. 2, c. 9.

scrap exhibits the spirit in which the assault was made upon the Church of England under the name of the Church of Rome. It is from a burlesque upon the Catechism of the English Protestant Church. "*Ques.*—What is your name? *Ans.*—Cavalier. *Ques.*—Who gave you that name? *Ans.*—My seducers and deceivers in my innocence, wherein I was made a member of the Church of Rome, and consequently a limb of Antichrist, an enemy to all godliness, a child of the devil, an inheriter of the kingdom of darkness, amongst the infernal spirits that rule in the air of this terrestrial globe."[1]

Nalson gives us the following: "Cardinals, patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, deans and innumerable such vermin, a monster of which monstrous body our (English Protestant) hierarchy is . . . never came from God—but rather from the Pope and the devil: 'Diabolus cacavit illos.'"[2]

A compound of "holy" writers, whose initials gave the word "smectymnius," thus describe the English Protestant Church: "This many-headed monster is the beast against which we fight in the covenant. Thy mother, Papacy, shall be made childless amongst harlots."

In Case's sermon, at Milk street, September 30, 1643, the clergy of the Protestant Church of England are called "swearing, drunken, unclean priests, that taught nothing but rebellion in Israel, and caused the people to abominate the sacrifice of the Lord. Arminian, Popish, idolatrous, vile wretches, such as, had Job been alive, he would not have set with the dogs of his flock."

Vicar calls them "a stinking heap of atheistical Roman rubbish, a rotten rabble of slanderous priests, and spurious bastard sons of Belial, who by their affected ignorance and laziness, by their most abominable lives and conversation, had made the Lord's ordinance to be even abhorred by the people."[3]

In 1720, a Church of England Protestant, complaining of the violent abuse of the clergy of that Church, by those

[1] "Cavalier's Catechism," p. 25.
[2] "Collections," v. 1, p. 499.
[3] "Jehovah Jerah."

Puritans who charged them with ignorance, debauchery, and villainy, after mentioning those charges, adds: "But this the clergy can forgive, provided their enemies would forbear to charge them with vices of Popery, or a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. They will always go on steadily to oppose Popery, though they should be traduced as favorers of it, by those very Presbyterians, who in the day of distress were busy in breaking down those fences by which alone it was to be kept out." This writer in another place abuses the Presbyterians for being so exceedingly wicked as not to hate Popery; he tells them that in the reign of James II, "the Dissenters, (to their eternal shame and conviction be it spoken,) paid all their addresses and compliments to the government, and accepted many insinuating favors from it, which the Church of England-men refused upon principles of conscience. But these good men notwithstanding their pretended stiffness against Popery at other times, could then comply with anything, if they could but lessen the esteem and authority of the Church; and come Popery or whatever else, were very easy and caressed themselves; and if our establishment had been borne down, it is certain that nothing but Popery could possibly have been established in the room; for fanaticism is so wild and so untractable a thing, that it admits of no settlement upon any principles."

It is then a plain fact, that the various religious sects that worried each other in England and in Scotland during the seventeenth century, united in abusing and censuring the Roman Catholic Church, as the most vile and loathsome and dangerous and wicked and pestilential of all institutions; and that when either desired to render the other obnoxious, it had recourse to what it considered the most easy and effectual mode of success, a charge of affection to what it called Popery. The Church of England and the Independents each, indeed, proved with melancholy evidence the utter want of foundation for such imputations; because each of them contended with the other in the enactment of barbarous laws and the invention of

degrading epithets, and the expressions of scorn, of hatred and of contempt. Thus the religion of the great bulk of the civilized world was made an object of contumely to those contending factions and to all to whom their influence extended. The New England colonies were principally settled by the Puritans, those of Virginia by the members of the law-Church, or English Protestant Episcopalians. Each division brought with it across the Atlantic the same spirit and the same language that it had in the land whence it came; and thus this barbarous and degrading nomenclature was diffused through the colonies. We have seen the ineffectual effort of the Catholics to preserve at least one spot free from the domination of vulgarity and unprofaned by the spirit of persecution. We have seen the power of that Catholic colony broken down, and the professors of that religion degraded to the level of the negro slave.

France and Spain, two great and powerful nations, had colonies to the north and to the south; they were also approaching upon the west: these colonies were Catholic, and the policy of Great Britain urged her to increase the hatred and the contempt for their religion, the better to guard against the alienation of her own colonies, by means of any combination with them. Thus was there upon the ground which we now occupy a population trained up by such circumstances into the strongest prejudices against the Catholic Church and without any mode whatever of correcting its serious mistakes. Europe was differently circumstanced; Catholics were there seen, and known and observed. What must have been the situation of the American colonist, when the usual impression upon the mind of John Bull was, that the Pope really was not a man like his fellows, that he was some undefined kind of strange and dangerous animal? I know an excellent priest, who within a very short time has, to my astonishment, convinced me that aged and respectable persons in the interior of Virginia have seriously examined his head, *at his* own request, to be satisfied that a Popish priest

had not small horns. I have evidence of nearly a similar description in North Carolina. The familiar and ordinary phraseology of many in our States respecting our Church and its members is still the nicknomenclature; and though it has scarcely ever prevailed in the Protestant countries upon the continent of Europe, and been nearly exploded from the more polished parts of Great Britain, as well as disused in her legislative and judicial halls, and has also been discarded by our legislatures, still an effort is made by the party called Evangelical,[1] to continue it in Great Britain and Ireland; and persons otherwise well educated and not usually vulgar, unconsciously offend others and degrade themselves by its continuance here. Would to God, I could attribute to ignorance the habit of the editors of what are called our religious periodicals! They cannot avail themselves of this excuse. What then are we to think of the kind disposition, the Christian humility, the affability, the politeness, the courtesy, the charity, and the education of the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, who, in a short paragraph, gives us the following specimen of his claims to the character of a Christian gentleman?

"Popery has invaded the land." "Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance." "It stupifies the conscience." "It blinds the understanding." "It makes the whole man a superstitious slave to the impositions of a crafty priesthood." "The beast numbers half a million of subjects in these United States." "Popery is a monster, forging chains to bind the people."

All this is gathered from one paragraph compiled by this writer in an essay put forward to instruct his readers how to offer their sacrifice of praise to God, on the anniversary of our independence, when every good man should endeavor to unite his fellow-citizens into one great harmonious band, to pay their grateful homage for a mighty and invaluable common benefit. Yes! it is in affecting to call upon his readers to make a due celebration of that day when twenty-four confederated republics rejoice in

[1] The same ridiculous and vulgar phraseology is also studiously affected by a certain section of the High Church party.

their freedom, that this man villifies with his foul obloquy the religion of the only venerated survivor[1] of that band of patriots who staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to procure that boon for which he affects gratitude! Nor was this writer ignorant of this fact; nor was he unaware of the insulting nature of his language.

But suppose, against all the evidence which I possess, and I have much, that this man was not aware of the vile character of his phraseology, as above quoted. Surely no one will undertake to offer an excuse for his classing Roman Catholics with "drunkards," "profane swearers," "Sabbath breakers," "gamblers," "all votaries of dissipation whose example is pernicious to the community." And this he deliberately does in an article directing his compatriots how to celebrate the anniversary of our independence. Will he have the hardihood to assert that the Roman Catholic Church teaches men to become "drunkards," or sanctions intemperance? Can he perceive no efforts of that Church to take away utterly the abomination of profane swearing? Does she not by her own special regulations endeavor to bring to close practical operation the general command for the sanctification of one day in the week? Does she not lament and reprove the misconduct and negligence of such of her children as disregard or undervalue the divine ordinance? Does she not uniformly teach that "gambling" is not only injustice, but is closely allied to a variety of other crimes? In opposing "dissipation," is she not charged by her enemies with being too severe and harsh and superstitious in the recommendation and estimation of her works of self-denial and mortification? But the object was to fasten obloquy upon our body, to degrade us by nicknames, to mortify us by superciliousness, to estrange our fellow-citizens from us by contempt, and to deprive us of sympathy by daubing us with the coloring of the most despicable vices. There was however an ulterior object, to attain which this *is only a* preparation.

Look through the publications of this confederacy, and t will at once be perceived that, as regards us, obloquy s their usual style, vulgar nicknames their usual appella-ions; and though our Church contains more than three-ifths of all Christendom in her communion, and has in ier bosom at least that ratio of the talent, of the science, of the virtue, in a word, of all the good qualities of the ivilized world; yet this combination of sections of sects ffects to look down upon us as if we were beings care-essly flung into some lower region, upon whom these elf-complacent, refined, and chosen spirits may occasionally ast a glance from their empyreal sphere. Yet fallen and legraded as I am, I shall venture humbly to suggest to hese mighty ones in Isreal, that even for them it might rove beneficial to ponder occasionally upon that beautiful arable which commences at the ninth verse of chapter viii of the Gospel according to St. Luke.

III.

I nave brought down the history of the nicknames vith sufficient detail and accuracy. It might be asked, vhat can prompt their infliction? I shall remark that in he base and ignoble portion of the human family, there xists a strong and almost uncontrollable propensity to nflict every species of pain upon its opponents, and that his melancholy exhibition is often adduced as one of the vidences of our fallen and degraded state. In those who re strong and powerful, that propensity finds its indul-gence in the bodily pain or destruction which it inflicts. When the hatred is excessive, even this will not suffice; ontumely is added to the injury; and hence, in that state f warfare which Homer describes between demi-savages, he hero is as powerful at wounding the soul with his ongue, as he is at wounding the body with his spear. The Indian loses half his revenge, if he cannot vent his nalice in vituperation. But Christianity weeps over the victim that justice consigns to pain or to death, and even

soothes the soul of the malefactor with the balm of religion. When she authorizes the patriot to arm for the protection of his rights, she conjures him to recollect that his hand is strengthened for the ruin of a brother, and she charges him as he will answer for it at the tribunal of heaven, to strike no unnecessary blow and to seek for no revenge. She commands him whilst he will devotedly expose himself and powerfully vindicate justice, yet to remember mercy and to bathe with the tear of humanity that gash which public right compels for the unnerving of an unjust aggressor. Thus does she breathe the air of heaven through the field of carnage, and exhibit her chosen warriors, calm, intrepid, charitable, and dignified; the bulwark of their nation, the terror of its foes, able to repel the mighty, and then prepared to stoop to the solace of the fallen. From their mouths no ribaldry proceeds, for their hearts cherish no hatred.

But there are several who, unable to injure you, vent their impotent rage in abusive language; and that fury which, in the strong, was divided between the hand and the tongue, here issues altogether from the mouth; so that, as the being is powerless, it becomes ribald; and you may generally calculate its strength to be in the inverse ratio of its vulgar volubility. The veteran who has, during half a century, braved the varied perils of the field, the trench, the ambuscade, and the forlorn hope; who could, with truth, say, as the high-priest did to Abner, that he feared God, but had no other fear; this brave man, upon whose single word a countless host of undaunted heroes move, gladly resigns the inglorious palm of wounding words and vituperative phraseology, to a drab of the market, redolent of fish and bloated with her blustering. And well he may, for this is the appropriate field of the weak and the vulgar.

But is this harmless, save as the feelings are assailed and worried? No, there are other consequences which naturally follow, and which, perhaps, I would be warranted *in* asserting to have been intended. The common sense

of mankind has long since discovered, and the discovery now is admitted as an axiom: "That the public degradation of any individual or body by nicknames or continual imputations, however undeserved or groundless, is for the direction of public opinion fully equivalent to the demonstration of the charges which they intimate." Thus in Great Britain and her colonies, it was scarcely deemed necessary, even for the purpose of gratifying curiosity, to examine into the grounds of any of the vague and monstrous and frequently self-contradictory libels upon the Roman Catholics. The very name of Papist was synonymous with everything base, vile, and degrading; Popery was the most expressive word in the English language for all that was abominable; and, generally speaking, mad dog was not more fatal to the quadruped, than Romanist or Papist to the biped. I shall give one or two instances out of several which lie within my reach.

By the law of 1696, no Roman Catholic was permitted to profess his religion in Carolina; and this law was not repealed at the time of the Revolution. As far as I can discover, no clergyman of that Church ever entered Carolina previous to 1783; no one was stationed in it until several years later; until 1821 there was no station for a mission or a priest, in South Carolina, outside the city of Charleston. In 1790, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining the means of very poor support for one priest in this city.

With those facts before us, I would ask, what was the number of Catholics in the State in 1774 and in 1775? I believe that scarcely ten could be discovered. We shall find that there were two, and their history is not altogether uninteresting.

In 1774, Judge Drayton informs us that about the month of August, news arrived in Charlestown, (now Charleston,) that an act had been passed in the British parliament, extending the limits of the government of Quebec, and amongst other things "establishing therein the Roman Catholic religion." He should rather have said,

permitting the people to follow the Catholic religion, which they always professed, and establishing the Protestant as the government religion. Almost every one of the colonies complained loudly of this act of toleration; and there was scarcely one of them that did not mark it down as a tyrannical assault by the British king upon their Protestant rights and liberties, and such as was likely to bring down the curse of God upon him. I shall here allow Judge Drayton to describe the feelings of the former inhabitants of that city in which I write: "These acts sunk deep into the minds of the people, as they saw the crown now made despotic, and the Romish Church established in a part of America. Men openly said, George III had broken his coronation oath; as well as the solemn contract, under which he received his title to the crown. They said, the Revolution of 1688 was effected upon a principle of rescuing the English dominions from the errors and tyranny of the Romish Church. That for this effect, William, Prince of Orange, had been placed on the British throne; and after him the ancestor, from whom George III derived his royal titles; and that he was bound by the same conditions. Under these reflections, the meeting of the general assembly now approached, and the representatives with impatience wished for an opportunity of declaring in a legislative manner their sentiments respecting the late obnoxious acts of parliament."[1]

Would to God that I could acquit the Congress of 1774 of acts upon this subject, which should be effaced by my tears, if shedding them in the bitterness of my heart could blot the record from their journals! But enough of this. I must subdue the feeling which tempts me to place in contrast the declarations made by that body to the Protestants of what are now our republics, and those made by them to the Catholics of Quebec. Was I previously ignorant of the want of value in political professions, this would be an abundant lesson. Let it rest. It suffices for my present purpose to show that nicknames and groundless imputations had destroyed the fair fame of Catholics

[1] "Memoirs," vol. 1, p. 136.

in this part of America. Judge Drayton gives us another instance, which shows the force of association. The occurrence took place in April, 1775.

"With all these occurrences, men's minds had become agitated; and it was deemed proper to bring forth something calculated to arrest the public attention, to throw odium on the British administration, to put down the crown-officers in the province, and to invigorate the ardor of the people. And nothing was deemed more likely to effect the same than some public exhibition, which might speak to the sight and senses of the multitude. For this purpose, effigies were brought forward—supposed to be by the authority or connivance of the secret committee. They were executed under the direction of Mr. Poyas, in the Masonic lodge-room, in Lodge Alley; and represented the Pope, Lord Grenville, Lord North, and the devil. They were placed on the top of a frame, capable of containing one or two persons within it, and the frame was covered over with thick canvass, so that those within could not be distinguished. In the front of the frame, on the top, the Pope was seated in a chair of state, in his pontifical dress; and at a distance immediately behind him, the devil was placed in a standing position, holding a barbed dart in his right hand; between the Pope and the devil on each side, Lords Grenville and North were stationed. Thus finished, the frame and effigies were fixed on four wheels; and early in the morning, this uncommon spectacle was stationed between the Market[1] and St. Michael's church, in Broad Street, to the gaze of the citizens. Many were the surmises respecting it; but at length, by its evolutions, it soon began to explain the purposes for which it was constructed; for no sooner did any of the crown-officers, placemen, counsellors, or persons known to be disaffected to the common cause, pass by, than the Pope immediately bowed with proportioned respect to them; and the devil, at the same moment, striking his dart at the head of the Pope, convulsed the populace with bursts of laughter.

[1] *The Beef Market was then where the elegant building of the City Hall is at present.*

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odium upon the British ministry; they are made the sport of schoolboys and companions of the devil. We should feel exceedingly grateful to Messrs. Weyman and Poyas and to the other members of the secret committee, for this appropriate compliment.

When the members of any body are thus held up to public scorn and detestation, it is an easy and a natural transition to maltreat them with impunity; especially in a community where they are exceedingly few in number, and have neither wealth, power, nor friends. Such was the case of the few unfortunate Catholics, who, in defiance of the law, skulked in some of the obscure purlieus of Charleston, where this exhibition took place. Without a priest, without an altar, without property, without political existence, hated and despised in Carolina, persecuted by Great Britain, who could imagine it possible that two or three insignificant outcasts of this description could even be suspected of exposing themselves openly to the vengeance of a people? Who could imagine the possibility of their openly assailing with arms and threatening with death the patriotic Protestants of the city? Who could swallow the assertion, that at such a time, and after such an exhibition, there should be danger of their escaping through the partiality of the judicial tribunals? Yet there were in this city men who, having discovered two Roman Catholics, set up these pretexts as a cover for the ill-treatment they were doomed to undergo.

"The following petition[1] was transferred over to the secret committee, who acted upon it:

"To the honorable members of the committee of correspondence, at Charlestown, the humble petition of Michael Hubart, showeth:

"That upon the 2d day of June, your petitioner being in the house of Thomas Nicoll, in King street, a certain James Dealey came in, and told there was good news come to town. Being asked what was it, he answered that a number of arms was sent over to be distributed amongst the *negroes*, Roman Catholics and Indians. Upon

[1] *Drayton's "Memoirs," vol. 1, pp. 200-2.*

which your petitioner replied he thought it was very bad news that Roman Catholics and savages should be permitted to join and massacre Christians. Upon which Dealey struck his breast and swore 'he was a Roman Catholic, and that he had arms and would get arms and use them as he pleased.' Your petitioner went home to his house, and shortly after came in said Dealey and a certain Laughlin Martin and A—— Reed. After sitting down a little, Laughlin Martin arose and said: 'So, Mr. Hubart, you'll not allow Roman Catholics to carry guns?' Your petitioner answered that his circumstances were too small to forbid any party or sect to carry arms. Martin then damned your petitioner for a false-faced villain; and declared he would believe Dealey sooner than me; at same time ordered said Dealey to drag your petitioner out of the house and pull him to pieces. At the same time standing with a drawn cutteau in his hand, swearing if he did not, that he (Martin) would have blood himself. Dealey then dragged your petitioner into a shop in front of the house, holding him by the throat until released by the aforesaid Reed. But, upon being released, said Martin came up, with his cutteau drawn, threatening to put your petitioner to immediate death, when your petitioner, falling upon his knees, begged his life; your petitioner's wife and children begging, at the same time, to spare the life of their father and husband. Your petitioner then arose and went into the next room, but was still followed by Martin, who vowed to God if your petitioner did not beg pardon of Dealey, he would, that instant, cut off his head. Upon which your petitioner, to save his life, did ask his (Dealey's) pardon. Martin then declared he was a Roman Catholic, and vowed to God to cut off the head of any person who said he should not carry arms. After which, said Martin called for some drink, and drank of it with Dealey and Reed; and one of his toasts was, 'Damnation to the committee and their proceedings.' Your petitioner has prosecuted them as law directs. But as the times appear to be very troublesome,

and numbers of enemies, both to the Protestant interest and the present cause, are lurking amongst us, your petitioner hopes that you will inquire into such parts of their transaction as concerns the public; and your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"*Michael Hubart.*

"Secret: tar and feather him.[1] Passed the secret committee, and ordered to be put in execution.[2] On the back of the petition is written, in the real hand-writing of William Henry Drayton, the chairman of the secret committee, the following, viz.: Laughlin Martin,[3] James Dealey."[4]

The result is thus stated by Drayton: "During the events which took place about this time, and of which mention has been made, it is of some consequence to observe that in the course of June of this year (1775), Laughlin Martin and James Dealey, having behaved in a very improper manner respecting the general committee and their proceedings, as well as respecting the association, and having threatened Michael Hubart with death, unless he begged their pardon for having justified the conduct of the committee, he sent a petition respecting the affair to the committee of correspondence of Charlestown. This committee immediately transferred it to the secret committee of five, who, having considered the same, ordered both Martin and Dealey to be tarred and feathered. The order was promptly put in execution by suitable agents; and they were both stripped of their clothes, tarred, feathered and carted through the streets of Charlestown: affording the first instance of such a spectacle in this colony. This being done, the secret committee sent them on board a ship ready to sail for England; Laughlin Martin was, however, permitted to land again, and was discharged, on expressing his contrition in a public manner, but James Dealey, for an example, was sent away. These summary

[1] This order is in a disguised hand, supposed to be that of William Henry Drayton, chairman of the secret committee.

[2] This certificate is also in a disguised hand, supposed to be that of Edward Weyman, one of the members of the secret committee.

[3] To land, and be discharged, upon his expressing his contrition in the most public manner.

[4] *Sent away.*

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leagued for the massacre of Christians, I appprehend Americans now will believe with me that, in all likelihood, this was another of Mr. Weyman's devices, "calculated to arrest public attention and to throw odium on the British administration."

Thus the process is natural and easy from nicknames to ill-treatment, from degradation to the loss of sympathy, and to the excommunication from the charities of society and the protection of power. Would you insure the destruction of a wretched dog, you need only insinuate that he is mad. Am I asked what is the object of the sanctified host of our opponents, in their obstinate persistence in vulgar contumely—let this be the reply: It must be the expression of a low but impotent disposition to hurt our feelings, since they are restrained from injuring our persons; or it is to make us odious, that we may be injured. If there be any other, let it be assigned.

IV.

I will not assert that the object of our evangelical opponents is to procure Roman Catholics being tarred and feathered; on the contrary, I believe they have no such object. But I do state that I believe their intention in continuing the use of nicknames is, first, to bring Catholics into contempt; and secondly, to deprive them of sympathy, and to excite against them suspicions of the worst kind and subject them to unmerited distrust and to its natural consequences.

The editor of the *Telegraph*, besides using the nomenclature which I have before exhibited, tells his readers that "Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance."[1] Let any person who possesses self-respect as a man or any portion of religious sentiment, ask himself what is the estimation in which the drunkard should be held. Let him view the body unnerved, the countenance bloated, the eye dull, the dress slovenly and covered with

[1] This has actually been repeated in our own day in Liverpool, England, where an *evangelical publication* announced last year that Popery and drunkenness were *the twin evils of the age.*

the stains of vomit: contemplating this personification, let him ask: "Is that the representation of a Catholic?" The mouth-piece of the brotherhood will tell him that it is, and will call the Catholic a "beast." Let him view the pictures drawn of the intemperate in all the associated publications; let him ask what is the object of the writers, of the preachers, of the societies; is it not to cover intemperance with the contempt and the disgust and the hatred of the community? When, therefore, we are told by the same associates "that Popery should be noticed in connection with intemperance," is it not their intention to cover Catholics with the contempt and the disgust and the hatred of the community? Yet these are men of sublime charity! These are men of tender mercy! These are men who oppose bigotry! These are the only men who seek to preserve our republican institutions.

Let Americans look around, review their Catholic neighbors, and ask: Do the latter deserve this contumely? Are they justly exposed to this hatred? We have seen the manner in which they were treated previous to the Revolution, in what were then the colonies. I have given only a few specimens; I can, if necessary, multiply them to disgusting satiety. Then they were charged by the legislative bodies, by the popular assemblies, and by individuals, with a slavish spirit, with perfidious designs, with leaguing with negroes and savages for the extermination of Christians, to the destruction of freedom. It is not for me here to say how they behaved in the contest. In their own address to President Washington, they tell him: "Whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood, spilt under your eyes, and our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct." Upon those grounds they asserted, respecting those equal rights of citizenship, "we expect the full extension of them from the justice of those States which still restrict them."

Besides the unjust and improper restrictions against Catholics, which yet are to be found in the constitutions

of New Jersey and of North Carolina and those of some of the New England States—the latter of which have been since repealed—the following were then the 12th and 13th sections of the constitution of South Carolina: "12. No person shall be eligible to a seat in the Senate unless he be of the Protestant religion. 13. No person shall be eligible to sit in the House of Representatives unless he be of the Protestant religion."

None had better opportunities of appreciating the conduct of the Catholics than General Washington possessed; and his answer to the address contains the following paragraph: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of the civil government. I hope ever to see America amongst the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government; or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

One of the Catholics who subscribed that address, and who received that answer, yet survives.[1] Isolated in his grandeur, he raises his modest head amidst the graves of all his companions, linking together the past and the present generations. All the affections which we would transmit to the venerable fathers of our republics converge in him, and through him are conducted to them. Well has his life been devoted to the practice of virtue, nobly has his fortune been pledged for the benefit of myriads yet unborn. He has seen nearly a century pass away, and his honor is yet untarnished and sacred. And will America permit his departure to be embittered by the proclamation, that because of his profession and practice of the religion of the Alfreds, of the Augustines, of the Dorias, of the Tells, of the Ambroses, of the Fenelons,

[1] *Charles Carroll lived when this was written.*

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intemperance;" for the very essay itself is too plain to be misunderstood. It is the intrinsic baseness of Popery itself that places it on a level with intemperance; "for next to the fire which burns out reason and conscience, that power is to be dreaded which stupifies conscience, and blinds understanding, and withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright, and makes the whole man a superstitious slave to the impositions of a crafty priesthood."

I believe I need take no trouble now to show that the object of the "saints" is to bring Catholics into contempt; for what can be more contemptible than a body whose consciences are stupified, whose understandings are blinded, and who are the superstitious slaves of a crafty and deceitful priesthood? Need I enter into any farther examination to show that the object is to deprive us of sympathy, to excite suspicion, and to subject us to distrust when we are exhibited as objects of dread? And who is the man that thus denounces not only half a million of his fellow-citizens, but the vast majority of the Christian world?

The denunciation is against the Roman Catholic Church, which numbers in its communion considerably upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of the civilized population of the globe. And by whom? By the mouth-piece of one of the smaller divisions of the modern separatists from the Church of ages. I do not wish to write unkindly; I would not write offensively of any one of the religious societies which cover our territory; but it is necessary often to bring those who are ignorant or forgetful, to the contemplation of facts. If the doctrines of the Catholic Church stupify the conscience, how has it happened that the best works, for the direction of conscience, that are found amongst our separated brethren, who boast so much of their light, are garbled imitations of Catholic writers, only deteriorated by their omissions? How has it happened that in the works of Catholic writers, before the unfortunate secession of Luther, all the great maxims of

piety and morality are so conspicuous? How has it happened, that in the bosom of the Catholic Church they have been studiously preserved, zealously enforced, continually expounded, and nobly reduced to practice? It is true, that the Gersons, the Kempises, the Bourdaloues, the Fenelons, the Rodriguezes, the Granadas, the Francises of Sales, the Massillons, the Gothers, the Challoners, and men of that description, wrote in the plain and intelligible language of common sense and of fervid piety, that whilst they enlightened the conscience they did not shock the taste nor disgust the understanding, though they won upon the heart. Their mode of stupifying the conscience was not indeed similar to that of the "holy men" who would sweep our Church with their besom of destruction. Look at these extracts from the "saints:"

"When the soul finds corruption in itself, it sets to the rock Jesus Christ, and there repenting and believing, yea, by the highest actings of faith, endeavoring to knock off its beak, its individuate desires unto the world. A 'saint' becomes clad with the sun of righteousness, and presently the moon is under his feet; which makes him use the world as though he used it not. A renewed old man is a renewed eagle, enabled to mount in duties with the wings of eagles."[1] "Ye know, dear 'saints,' that the sweet-spirited nightingales and robin red-breasts cannot endure cages, but will soon die; nor can precious souls be cooped up or kept in durance under any form whatsoever, but they must be left free to fly up and down in Christian liberty."[2] "For though truth be as good a diet as partridge or pheasant, yet it is not to be served in or carved out raw, feathers and all; no, but cooked, and seasoned, and now and then you have a pretty tart sauce to it too, to whet your stomachs. I pray accept of it, and say grace to it, and fall to, and much good may it do you."[3] "If you cannot reach a book off a shelf, you take a stool, and standing upon that stool, you are able to reach down the book; the stool are these

[1] "Lamot's Funeral Sermon," by Fulk Bellers, p. 31.
[2] "Epistle dedicated to John Rogers' Bethshemesh," p. 6.
[3] Ib., p. 74.

gifts; grace alone many times cannot reach down such a notion in divinity as it is able to do by the help of gifts: gifts are given for the help of grace; they are the handmaids of grace, and they bring forth sweetly upon the knees of grace."[1] "I do not boast, but I speak it to His glory, that God vouchsafed to take up His lodgings in so vile, so contemptible, unswept, ungarnished a room as this unworthy cottage of mine; but it was His will, and I am thankful for it."[2] "Let any true 'saint' of God be taken away in the very act of any known sin, before it is possible for him to repent; I make no doubt or scruple of it; but he shall be as surely saved as if he had lived to have repented of it."[3] "The child of God in the power of grace doth perform every duty so well, that to ask pardon for failing either in the matter or manner of it, is a sin; it is unlawful to pray for forgiveness of sins after conversion; and if he does at any time fall, he can, by the power of grace, carry his sin to the Lord, and say, here I had it, and here I leave it."[4]

These, I acknowledge, are not the maxims by which the conscience of a Catholic is enlightened. He must be guided by the great rules of moral truth as revealed by God, and expounded and testified by the great bulk of the Christian world, in communion with the successor of that Apostle, to whom Christ declared, that upon that rock (Peter) would He build His Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail; that Church founded and established in doctrine, after Christ, by the Apostles, upon whom the Holy Ghost descended, to lead them into all truth, and which truth was to continue for the guidance of the Christian people, as the pillar of cloud and fire remained to bring Israel into the land of promise. The fervent, faithful disciples of the early ages, the martyrs and their companions, gave to our predecessors the

[1] Bridge's "Sermon before the Lord Mayor," 1653, pp. 49-50.

[2] Cromwell's "Learned, Devout and Conscientious Exercise," held at Sir Peter Temple's open room, 1, c., xiii, 1649, p. 3.

[3] Prynn's "Perpetuity of a Regenerate Man's Estate," p. 451.

[4] "*Fifty Propositions* taken from Brierly's Mouth," prop. 18.

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ose ministers He sent with a commission to teach: He not command us to destroy the tribunal, and first pro- iming unrestricted freedom under the pretext of unproved pirations, then endeavor to subject others, under the iblance of an underived commission.

I have deviated from my plan in making this skirmish inst the position that Catholics have their "consciences pified;" my object was not so much to combat the ertion, as to show the aim of the writer. I shall not refore dwell at present upon the refutation of his other rges: "That the understandings of Catholics are blinded," l that they are the "superstitious slaves of a crafty esthood," as also the charge that this priesthood is lty of "impositions." I shall merely ask upon what are se charges based? It would seem from his article that only reason he vouchsafes to give is, that the Catholic urch "withholds the only light which can guide human son aright," by which I suppose he means the Bible. suming this to be the correct meaning of his piece, I ll cursorily observe, that forbidding the use of a bad l defective translation is not "withholding the Book:" is the forbidding its misinterpretation "withholding Book." This is all that the Catholic Church does, l this, not only religion, but common sense and the olic good would require. What he insinuates as a son is then but a figment, and if he has no other of of his charges, they are unsustained. His intention manifest. It is to cast contempt upon the Catholics of United States, to deprive them of the sympathy of ir fellow-citizens; it is to excite against them sinister picions, and to prepare the mind of the community for erior steps in their regard.

V.

If it is inquired what could be the ulterior objects ich the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* ght in bringing Catholics into contempt and hatred,

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nursery, whatever occupied the meditation of the sage, or guided the progress of the child, was all—all eminently and emphatically anti-Catholic. The Pope was the beast of the Apocalypse; the Church was the harlot who made the nations of the earth drunk with the cup of her abominations; Rome was the great custom-house of sin, at which a stipulated tariff was to be paid, for leave to commit with impunity every crime by which man could be stained or God could be offended; incest, sodomy, murder, parricide might be perpetrated upon a trifling composition. Every Catholic was the sworn and devoted slave of the cruel tyrant who presided in this pest-house of abominations; an admirable contrivance of wicked moral mechanism enabled the monster to touch the springs by which his orders were secretly and securely and infallibly executed at the same moment, in a thousand places upon the surface of the globe, and by which he as infallibly learned all that occurred. The bishops confessed to him and received his directions; from these, he learned all that others had communicated to them, and through their agency, he conveyed his will to all his other vassals: each prelate stood in a similar relation to the priests, who were the conductors between him and the people: and all were to consider the Pope as the Lord God: his will could change virtue into vice, and make vice become virtue. The inquisitors also were his agents, who, by his command, destroyed in the most cruel manner all who dared to question his omnipotence.

This tyrant looked upon kings as his slaves, and set his feet upon the necks of emperors; he abominated republicanism, and commanded the Bible to be destroyed. He lifted himself up in the temple of God against God Himself, and substituted a gross and desolating superstition for the pure religion of the Apostles; a pageantry of corrupt and tawdry worldly pomp, for the observances of the meek and lowly Jesus. Every crime which was perpetrated under the semblance of religion, every political machination in which a Catholic was concerned, every suf-

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generally of the humbler grades of society; they had been fully imbued with all the principles of the Catholic Church; the Irish had been exasperated and ground down by oppression and persecution; they felt partially relieved from the yoke which had so long pressed upon their fathers and themselves; and their feelings against Protestants were rather embittered than affectionate: they had here no "crafty priesthood" to teach them the concealment of their true principles, and to fit them with a mask of disguise; they were proverbially communicative, open, and confiding; in them an ordinary observer would soon detect the mark of the beast, and his true character would be easily developed. The Germans were blunt, rough, honest and fully as open to observation as the Irish. The few clergymen of either nation who, from time to time, migrated hither, were equally subject to the public scrutiny as their flocks; and the Americans are not remarkable for their indifference or imperfection of observation.

From what I before stated, the public mind was not biased favorably towards this portion of the new settlers. Yet it is a fact, that they gradually won upon the favor of their fellow-citizens, and after some time they were considered not only to be Christians, but even to be moral, and several of them pious; and some of their more reflecting neighbors began to hope that though it would be prudent not to be over sanguine, yet it was possible they might become good citizens. Where they were more numerous, their intercourse with their fellow-citizens was necessarily more extended, and the opportunities for observation enlarged; and as this occurred, prejudice rapidly diminished.

Another accession was from France, at the period of her first revolution; and a large number of her clergy were thus thrown upon our shores. Nearly ignorant of our language, scarcely recovered from the terrors of the atrocities with which their infatuated and infuriated countrymen had disgraced the name of liberty, and smart-

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their connections, to their friends, and to their fellow-citizens.

In this manner, within the period of fifty years, have common sense, and common observation, and honest purpose, and Protestant intelligence, and Protestant honor, made a serious encroachment upon ancient Protestant prejudice, and folly, and injustice.

I have shown the description of persons upon whom the scrutiny has been made. Let us now to see who have been the scrutinizers. They are the American people. I dislike sectional distinctions; but sometimes they may be inoffensively made. In making the inquiry which produced this result, we had first, the calm, steady, persevering industry of Pennsylvania, and the keen observation and jealous scrutiny of Maryland; we had the adverse, obstinate, determined investigation of New York; we had the prejudices of the New Englander—deep-rooted and unbending, but yet loving truth, though cautious in the investigation. The New Englander has a character, many of the features of which I admire; and dare I venture upon a prophetic calculation, I would say, that the land of steady habits will, before the lapse of half a century, be a land in which the Catholic Church will extensively flourish?[1] Add to these the chivalrous feeling of the South, with its attachment to its High Church principles, which, though it would scarcely vouchsafe an examination of our creed, yet is most jealous and lynx-eyed as to the effect of our doctrines upon society. Yes, it is by a people of strong and varied prejudices against us, but a people of the most comprehensive mind, the most habitual jealousy, and probably, as an aggregate, the best instructed in the universe, that, during half a century, this scrutiny has been made; the result of which is a decision, to a great degree, in our favor. We duly appreciate the kindness, and we are gratified for the benefit, though, as yet, it renders us only partial justice.

It is this decision of the Americans which has enraged the Evangelicals, and driven them to assail us. The

[1] *A prediction fulfilled now; nearly half the population of Boston is Catholic.*

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also our aid. When the British Dissenters were under the operation of the British test-act, the Roman Catholics uniformly petitioned on their behalf, though the evangelical section of the Dissenters uniformly petitioned against Catholic Emancipation, and for the emancipation of negroes. Thank God, the "enlightened Christians of other denominations" do not need American sympathy, but we do; and we thank them for it, though they are called "anti-Christian moralists," probably from their sympathy for the poor "slaves of Antichrist," as we are said to be. Yet we warn them to be cautious, for they are told "that the monster is forging chains to bind them." Lest they should doubt my accuracy, I shall again bring the passage to their view. "Already 'the beast' numbers half a million of subjects in these United States. And the morality and practices of this communion accord so well with the views and feelings of thousands of the descendants of Protestants, who cannot endure the 'bigoted rules' of Presbyterians, that the industrious efforts of the minions of the Pope to extend his authority in our land, are regarded with more complacency and delight than any enterprise in which Christians have engaged to diffuse the light and influences of the Gospel. Yes, it is well known that the anti-Christian moralists of our times have more sympathy for the monster that is forging chains to bind them, than they have for any denomination of enlightened Christians in the land. And here the danger is the more imminent, because it is unseen. The tolerant friends of Popery, who seem to regard it as differing little from the religion of the Bible or of Protestants—and the indifferent spectators, know not its influence," etc.

Here, then, those "thousands"—the writer might have substituted "millions"—of the descendants of Protestants, who cannot endure the "bigoted rules" of Presbyterians, are complimented with the appellation of "anti-Christian moralists." We are thus nicknamed, in company with the largest and most respectable portion of our fellow-citizens, to whom this wanton insult has been arrogantly given,

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ground will those men presume to set their judgment above ours? In flinging this insult upon us, do they not offend the American public? Or, must it and we be compelled to learn from them the religion of the Bible? Is this their notion of Christian liberty? What has become of the "sweet-spirited nightingales and robin red-breasts" of the days of yore? Is the freedom of every man to interpret the Bible according to the dictates of his private judgment, to be restricted by the proviso, that he must discover in it what is called evangelical religion, or, as the writer expresses it, "the 'bigoted rules' of the Presbyterians?" Because deliberate judgments have, after close observation and cautious inquiry and mature reflection, acquitted us of the foul charges made against us by the "saints" of former days, the possessors of those judgments too are abused and vilified by these self-sufficient men.

But the American people does not stand alone in bearing this testimony in our favor. Our religion was calumniated and persecuted in Great Britain: and after having been there also subjected to the most trying ordeal of examination, after enduring the repeated test of the parliamentary rack, after answering the varied charges of every bigot, put in every form; after combating the assaults of every defamer, after references to our universities, the explanations of our prelates, the inspection of our colleges, the dissection of our institutions: notwithstanding the great weight of clerical opposition, the monitions of the lords-spiritual, the Evangelicals, denunciations of the Bible Societies, the homilies of the societies for discountenancing vice, the sighs of the meek, the threats of strong, the terrors of old maids, and the prognostications of old men, Great Britain has laid down her prejudices, broken the bonds of her iniquity, and proclaimed the emptiness of the pretexts and the wickedness of the enactments, by whose means our religion was misrepresented and our people were ground down. The liberal Protestants of Great Britain and of America have then passed a just judgment in our favor; and this is gall and wormwood to the Evangelicals.

Therefore it is that "the tolerant friends of Popery" are styled "anti-Christian moralists" by those intolerant men. Yes, Americans "have examined our principles of morality and the practices of our communion:" and these men truly say, "that they so well accord with the views and feelings of thousands of the descendants of Protestants," that, in their estimation, they "differ little from the religion of the Bible;" and they therefore not only do not hate us, but they regard "our industrious efforts with comparative complacency." We are deeply grateful to those tolerant friends who bear such honorable testimony in our regard; and we are happy to know that they are numerous and increasing. To their kindness, to the excellence of our cause, and to the blessing of heaven, but not to the charity, the forbearance, or "sweet spirit" of the men of "bitter sanctity," do we commit ourselves.

VI.

I have shown with what justice and kindness we have been treated by a large portion of our Protestant fellow-citizens, and how their good conduct displeased our opponents. I shall now follow up the topic, so as to conclude my remarks upon the paragraph which I then took for examination. The editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* endeavors to account for the favor which we have received from Protestants, upon the ground of their ignorance or their stupidity. "The tolerant friends of Popery, who seem to regard it as differing little from the religion of the Bible, or of Protestants, and the indifferent spectators, know not its influence, its power to excite the imagination, captivate the senses, and enslave the mind to forms of superstition, while no truth is brought to bear on the conscience or the heart." Allow me to discuss this pretty paragraph. Protestants and other tolerant, that is, indifferent, spectators are said to be ignorant of the following facts: First, that Popery has influence by its power to excite the imagination; secondly, that it has

influence by its power to captivate the senses; thirdly, that it has influence to enslave the mind to the forms of superstition; and, fourthly, that all this is done, whilst no truth is brought to bear on the conscience or the heart. To sustain these four propositions, not one tittle of evidence is adduced. I shall, however, admit the two first to be perfectly true, and deny that there exists a particle of truth in either of the two last; and, as to sustain the editor's position would require the combined truth of the entire, especially as derived from the correctness of his fourth proposition, which is notoriously untrue—of course that position is utterly untenable.

I am not bound to prove my negatives: but, by every rule of reason, he ought to make, at least, a *prima facie* case, before I could be called upon for a defence; but I waive formalities. If the Catholic religion does not, by her ceremonial, excite the imagination to an excessive and disorderly pitch, or mislead it from facts to fancies, it does no injury; but, if it so excites the imagination, as to aid the memory in the recollection of important facts and their proper bearing, this is useful to devotion: and such is truly the case.

The "holy" society of Evangelicals, whose interpreter the editor appears to be, frequently lament the want of this excitement, in what they call formal religionists; but revivals, outpourings of the spirit, rhapsody, conviction, experience, the triumph of grace, the apprehension of the Lord, the enthusiasm flowing from the imagined certainty of election and predestination; this undoubting faith, as it is called; all this excitement of the imagination is, according to the sanctimonious fraternity, the discovery of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. And yet, they talk of the excitement of the imagination by Popery! Verily, and of a truth, there are more of such imaginings at one revival, or camp-meeting, than would suffice for ten provinces of Popery. I cannot consent, unless driven thereto, to enter into disgusting and ridiculous details, of which, if the brethren choose, they shall have abundance.

The imagination of the Catholic is rationally excited by the representation of the great facts of religion, created in painting or statuary, and exhibited in ceremony; thus also Popery captivates the senses; but for what purpose? To excite the recollection of those facts which are recorded in the Bible; to place before us the example of the faithful servants of God; and, in doing so, we have the warrant of God's own precept and of His own example. We have it not only in the precepts which He gave to Moses respecting the ark and its decorations and appurtenances, but also in the model of the work which He exhibited upon the mountain; in the brazen serpent that He caused to be made and exposed, until it became an occasion of scandal, which rendered its removal necessary. I need not here multiply the proofs, by reference to the works of Solomon, of Nehemias, and of others. I need not refer to the raising up memorials of the passage of the Jordan, and of the sustenance of the people in the desert. All these captivated the senses, excited the imagination, wrought upon the memory, and thereby led to the practice of religion; and, as regards ceremony, surely we have the authority of God Himself, for the costly and ornamental and mystic attire of the priesthood, and of the attendants in the temple, for the symbolic rites of the Egyptian lamb, the feast of Tabernacles, the celebration of Pentecost, and several others. All these are calculated to captivate the senses, to excite the imagination, and thus influence man for the purposes of religion.

But the writer says that "Popery enslaves the mind to the forms of superstition." He does not vouchsafe either to inform us what he means by superstition, what are those forms, nor the mode of the enslavement. Thus his charge is so indistinct that it is not susceptible of distinct refutation. But I shall tell what we mean by superstition. It is the use of any rite or ceremony or other means, with the expectation of thereby obtaining any spiritual or supernatural effect, not attached thereto by the nature of *what* we so use or by the institution of God. When he

hall be able to show that any one of our authorized ›ractices comes under this definition, then I shall admit hat it is superstitious. Our authorized decorations and eremonies are all calculated to impress the mind with he idea of God's presence, His perfection, the homage vhich we owe to Him, the benefits which He has con-erred upon us, and the gratitude which we ought to xhibit in return. If this be superstition, we plead guilty. f this be religion, we claim to be religious. We first ›roduce the definition; until this be admitted or denied, t would be ridiculous to go into special facts: but if he principle be agreed to, let our adversaries then go hrough the catalogue of our practices, and we shall ıbide the results of the application of that description to ;ach. If abiding by the principles of religion be an ›nslavement of the mind, then are we enslaved. If it be ;he freedom of the children of God, then are we free. Thus his third proposition is untrue.

His fourth is utterly destitute of even a semblance of ;ruth. He charges that in our system "no truth is brought .o bear upon the conscience or the heart." I am perfectly vell aware of the influence of prejudice upon every mind. ; can therefore suppose that this man actually thinks as ıe writes, and that he is under the erroneous impression hat ours is a mere external exhibition of unmeaning and ›mpty pomp. The fact is quite otherwise. In all our ›eremonial, there is not one particle of mere idle exhibi-ion. It is true that, like the language of a nation, the ›ymbolic rite which our Church thus uses, is unintelligible o a stranger, until he is taught. But they who conclude hat it is useless or unmeaning show, may be well com-›ared to the person who, upon arriving in a strange ›ountry, imagined its population were all idiots, and would ain persuade his companions that they used unmeaning ınd ridiculous babbling, instead of language; he was ›ertain that they could not understand each other, because hey were incomprehensible to him. One of his associates, ıowever, who had travelled more, soon contrived to learn

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It is a notorious fact that, even upon the uninstructed, the forms of our religion are calculated to make an impression which better fits the mind for the recollection of divine truth, the contemplation of heavenly things, and the reverential payment of homage to the eternal God. Upon this I may confidently appeal to any person who has had the opportunity of witnessing them duly performed, and who has attended with an unprejudiced disposition. How often has the subdued demeanor, the solemn attention, and occasionally the moistened eye of the stranger testified the feeling? I recollect two instances, in different stations of life, in which the same feeling was expressed in different styles. An English gentleman asked his footman, a Protestant, who accompanied him to a High Mass, in Brussels, what he thought of the ceremony. He answered: "Sir, I never saw God Almighty served like a gentleman before." One of the most talented and observant British diplomatists observed, after attending at a High Mass, celebrated by the Archbishop of Paris, in Notre Dame: "If I were King of France, I would permit no subject to elevate the Host: that sublime act should be performed only by myself." Did our Protestant fellow-citizens take more pains to understand what is thoughtlessly condemned their information and our mutual charity would be increased.

VII.

Before I proceed to examine the charges which the editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph* has made upon the Roman Catholic body, and to exhibit their utter want of foundation, allow me to draw attention to a very unfortunate assertion which, in his essay, follows the little paragraph upon which I have commented. Complaining of the stupidity of liberal Protestants, or, as he calls them, the tolerant friends of Popery, he states: "Nor do they appear to know the fact, which is demonstrated by the whole history of Popery, that civil and religious liberty, as understood in this country, the last

half century, cannot co-exist with the laws of the papal communion. If the latter are administered, liberty must die; from the nature of things it is impossible for them to flourish together." Was ever writer more unfortunate? With notorious facts, palpably under his observation, it would seem that he not only cannot perceive the existence of what he announces, but he asserts the impossibility of what he proclaims to be a fact.

He surely will not deny that "civil and religious liberty, as understood in this country the last half century," has during that half century been in a flourishing and prosperous state. He anticipates evils it is true, but they have not as yet arrived, and as they might be only imaginary, he cannot assume the possibilities, dreaded by his imagination, to be really in existence. We have then hitherto preserved civil and religious liberty, and it has as yet been well upheld. This is an unquestionable fact. Now another fact equally unquestionable, is, that the Roman Catholic religion has, during the same period, made an astonishing progress in our republics; and there is not in all Christendom a country in which "the laws of the papal communion," as he calls the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, have less impediment cast in the way of their administration by the civil government than amongst us. And these laws are effectually carried into full execution. It is therefore evident that civil and religious liberty, such as he designates, and our religion, have actually co-existed and flourished together. Fifty years ago our republics were by no means secure: they were certainly not prosperous. To-day they are strong, powerful, efficient, formidable, happy, and respected. Fifty years ago, there was not a diocese, a bishop, a seminary, nor a convent of the Catholic Church in our Union. Now there is a perfect province, with its regular hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop, with seven suffragan bishops, and two coadjutors, besides two exempt dioceses and their bishops; giving an aggregate of twelve of the episcopal body, with their secular clergy; two universities and five or six

seminaries: a province of Jesuits with a university and noviciate and two or three colleges: an establishment of Sulpicians with a university and college and a seminary: a province of Dominican friars with their professed house and college and noviciate; two or three establishments of Lazarists with their colleges and seminaries and schools; an establishment of Augustinian friars; two flourishing Ursuline convents, Visitation nuns, Carmelite nuns, poor Clares, Lorretines, Sisters of Charity, and five or six other descriptions of female religious societies, with their schools and establishments, besides some monasteries of men. Add to this, three or four periodical presses, and continual demand for new churches and more clergymen: the progress of the religion appearing to be in the ratio of the efforts to extinguish it or to impede its progress. The editor himself saw this, and complained of the very increase; and tells his readers that Popery has invaded the land, "is laying the foundations of an empire," "is forging chains to bind the anti-Christian moralists," and so on. Yet this writer, who observes and testifies the existence of this liberty and this Popery, who has beheld the wonderful progress of each in the same land and under the same government, very sapiently assures his readers, verily and of truth, that they "cannot co-exist,"—"from the nature of things it is impossible for them to flourish together." And he very wisely gives us the assurance of this impossibility, whilst he assures us, that what he declares to be impossible is the fact. Which are we to believe, his doctrine or his testimony? "If the laws of the papal communion be administered, liberty must die." But the said laws have been administered during half a century, and yet liberty has not died.[1]

Perhaps he has discovered that she is in her death sickness, for the administration of the laws of the papal communion must be the tariff: and the death sickness is evidently nullification. Bless us! what a glorious privilege it is, to be gifted with the power of looking into the

[1] *This illustration can be applied much more forcibly now, when there are ten times more Catholics in the United States than at that time.*

imaginary world, and proclaiming the solution of those enigmas which are so impervious to ken of ordinary mortals. Now which of us, poor creatures, whose notions are confined to the surface of the globe, could have suspected that our civil and religious liberties had been so greatly jeopardized by the administration of the laws of the papal communion? Sure enough, there was a provincial council in Baltimore nearly two years ago; the Pope has confirmed the proceedings of the prelates; the president has dismissed his cabinet; some of those who lost their places are very angry; the Vice-President and Mr. Crawford are at open war; South Carolina is about to do strange things, and we have a popish attorney-general! No wonder that the sun gave dim portent of mighty disasters. But even previous to his ghastly green and livid blue, the prognostication was drawn from a more unerring horoscope, by the sagacious editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*. "If you cannot reach a book off a shelf, you take a stool, and standing upon that stool, you are able to reach down the book; the stool are these gifts; grace alone many times cannot reach down such a notion in divinity as it is able to do by the help of gifts," etc. Verily, it is a good gift, to be able to reconcile contradictions. This is a favor granted only to the elect.

Passing by this paragraph, without further remarks for the present, allow me to exhibit the arrogance with which this evangelical editor treats the "tolerant friends of Popery," as he is pleased to call the liberal Protestants of the United States. After degrading Roman Catholics to the level of the drunkard, the profane swearer, the gambler, the votary of dissipation, the infidel, and the anti-Christian, and emphatically designating them as the slaves of the impositions of a crafty priesthood, as the subjects of a beast, he compliments all those Protestants who do not choose to adopt the rules of the Presbyterians with the assurance that their feelings and views accord perfectly well with the morality and practices of the abomi-

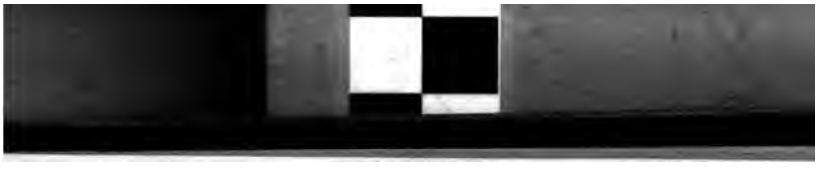
nable outcasts whom he has thus described. This is a compliment for which the larger portion of the Protestants should feel very grateful. This is a species of liberality that ought to make a due impression upon them. It reminds me of the manner in which a stupid fellow once made his court to a person with whom he sought an intimacy. "My dear sir, I had a cousin of whom I was very fond; we were exceedingly intimate, and I was greatly attached to the poor fellow. He was one of the most jovial, merry scape-graces I ever knew; he lived in a continual round of gambling, dissipation, and their concomitant habits; until in an unlucky moment he had his career arrested—poor fellow! You knew him; he was hanged last year. Your manner and appearance remind me so perfectly of him, that I have ever since sought to make your acquaintance—for really I feel at a loss for a companion." It is quite out of the question to doubt the great respect in which the evangelical brethren hold their fellow-Protestants, the unconverted, the unregenerated, the worldly. Nor is this a novel feeling amongst the pure and the orthodox in regard to the other portion—the tolerant and the liberal; and not only in their regard, but towards all those who have fallen short of their notions of reformation and holy hatred of our Church. I shall give a few specimens.

"The Church of England is a true whorish mother, and they that were of her were base begotten and bastardly children, and she neither is nor ever was truly married, joined, or united unto Jesus Christ, in that espoused band, which His true Churches are and ought to be."[1] "Of all the nations that have renounced the whore of Rome, there is none in the world so far out of square as England in retaining the popish hierarchy."[2] "Your Churches bear with drunkards, whore-mongers, railers, open scorners at godliness. The most ungodly of the land are the forwardest for your ways. You may have almost all the drunkards, blasphemers, and ignorant haters of godli-

[1] *Lilburn, cited by Bastwick.* [2] "Epist. before the Demons."

ness to vote for ye."[1] "The Church of England evidently declares themselves limbs of Antichrist; therefore, there is no communion to be kept with such in their public worship."[2] "We have a long while been clouded by confusion in the Church by a loose priesthood, who have not only brought in an innumerable number of pagan rites and Jewish ceremonies, but by their hellish skill have just broke through our constitution and almost reduced her to the obedience of Rome."[3] "What can a man of sense believe when he shall see a priest at the altar, acting a holy part, bowing and cringing, approaching the bread and wine, as if the popish notion of transubstantiation was true?"[4] "If we look upon the lives, actions, and manners of the priests and prelates of this age, and see their pride, impudency, profaneness, uncleanness, one would think that hell had broke loose, and that the devils in surplices, in hoods, and copes, and rochetts, and in four-square . . . . upon their heads[5] were coming amongst us . . . . The priests are secundum ordinem diaboli, a generation of vipers, proud, ungrateful, illiterate asses."[6] "The bishops are men swallowed up with wine and strong drink, whose tables are full of vomit and filthiness, whore-mongers and adulterers, who as fed horses neigh after their neighbors' wives." The rest of this passage is too obscene.[7] "One parson is drunken and quarrelsome, but then he bows to the altar and thinks King William is damned. Another cheats everybody and pays nobody, but he drinks to the royal orphan, and cannot abide King George. A third neither preaches nor prays, but he does a more meritorious thing, he constantly and fervently curses the Germans and the Presbyterians. A sixth is an evidence upon a trial and forswears himself, but the cause was for tithe, and he did it out

[1] Baxter's "Dispute," v., pp. 17 and 87.
[2] "Vind. Cult. Evang." p 30.
[3] "Rebels' Doom," p. 42.
[4] "Christianity no Creature of the State," p. 13.
[5] The clergy of the Church of England at the period of this publication used to wear square caps, such as are still worn in the English universities.
[6] Nalson's "Collect." v 1 p 502-3.
[7] White's "First Century." Preface.



of love for the Church. A seventh is a scoffer, who has laughed religion out of the world, but he hated my Lord Wharton like a toad, and got drunk frequently with Lord Harry for the prosperity of the Church."[1]

These, and volumes of such passages, which abound in the publications of the "saints," during the last two centuries, show their feelings toward other Protestants, and the estimation in which they hold all that do not come up to their standard of purity, and orthodoxy, and illiberality. Thus it is that the sanctified editor styles the other Protestants anti-Christian moralists, in contra-distinction to evangelical Christians, who are the Puritans of our day. He charges them with cherishing sympathy rather for gross error than for enlightened Christianity; and with stupidity and ignorance in not knowing the evil tendency of Popery, both upon the spiritual and political concerns of the community and of the nation. This is the politeness, this the courtesy, this the forbearance with which the charitable editor treats the large mass of the Protestant population of America. What could an unfortunate Catholic expect from such a man, or from the host to which he belongs, when he is thus insulting and arrogant to the great body of the Protestants who profess to be reformed without professing to be evangelical?

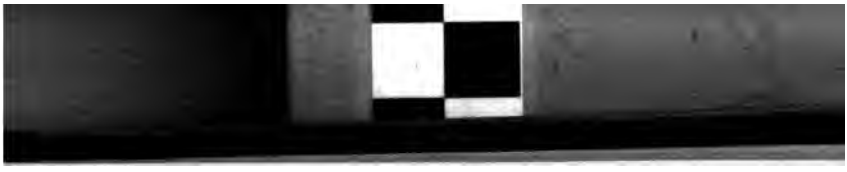
Let us now review his specific charges against the subjects of the beast. He places as the caption of his article—"The Republic in Danger!" He then repeats in the very commencement of his article that "it ought not to be concealed, that the republic is in danger;" he assures his readers that it is "a dream of the imagination" to suppose that "increasing numbers and growing prosperity are evidences of the safety of the republic and pledges of its perpetuity." On the contrary he declares that this "dream of the imagination, so fondly entertained, instead of diminishing, increases the danger to which it is exposed." Again, to make assurance doubly sure—to perform his duty as a watchman upon the tower, he ceases not to repeat, "whatever good citizens may imagine,

[1] "*Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*," pp. 15-18.

there is danger." Of a verity, then, if the slumbering and careless "good citizens" indulge in their imaginations and their day-dreams; the watchman hath loudly proclaimed—he hath delivered his own soul. But, pray, faithful sentinel, what is it you behold? Why such an aspect of terror? Why shake you so? Does any treacherous foe invade the peaceful bosom of our land—

Frighting her pale-faced villagers with war?

"The republic is invaded by enemies that are plotting its destruction, more numerous and more powerful than the hostile armies of '76." But, good friends, you must be under a mistake. Your eyes are weary from watching, or your imagination is excited from apprehension and vigilance: we perceive no enemy—we see no danger. Yea, now, is not this deplorable? "And what renders the condition of the republic more hazardous is the fact that the assaults of the enemy are so insidious that they are not generally observed by the people." But, friend, we really know not what bewilders and terrifies you. You acknowledge, as facts: 1, that our numbers increase; 2, that our prosperity grows; and 3, that the people cannot observe and do not feel or perceive those assaults that you speak of. Are you not ashamed to make false alarms? or are you demented? Demented! Woe be to the mockers: "Let good citizens look around them—we would give no false alarm—let them look at the encampment of the enemy, and see the hostile powers arrayed against the republic, and they will be convinced that the present is not the time to dream that all is safe." Really, we have looked around us, and the only encampments that we can perceive are those for religious meetings of the Methodists and the Presbyterians, with a few, occasionally, of the Baptists. In these there undoubtedly is mighty bustle, there is fearful noise, but we cannot perceive that they are "hostile powers arrayed against the republic." Pray, do you call these enemies? Is it to disperse these con-



gregations; is it to send the men to their labor and the women to their household concerns, that you have told us that we should cry "To arms!" "to arms!" Is it for this purpose you proclaim that "the cry" should be "reiterated in every part of the republic?" Is it for this that you declare "the whole people should have risen *en masse?*" We assure you, that to us no other camp is visible, save those religious camps; although we look upon them as not useful, either to religion, or morality, or the State, yet we do not think ourselves warranted to interfere with the rights of those who bellow or who rave, with the liberties of those who are frantic or sober, of those who feast or who fast, with the conduct of the man of prayer, or of him of blasphemy, who might be found in this multitude. Woe to the careless; woe to the unbeliever! Woe to him who would compare the host of Israel to the Philistine—the armies of Jehovah to the invader. "Do you not see that Popery has invaded the land, and is laying the foundations of an empire with which, if it prevail, the enlightened freedom of the republic cannot exist?" So, so; is this the enemy? Is this the camp? Is this the hostile array? Oh! now I begin to breathe more freely. Why, all these tropes, and figures, and hyperbolical expressions led me to fear that really there was some danger; and especially when they were uttered by you. I could never have imagined that a gentleman of such well-regulated gravity, such holy calmness, so demure an aspect, so staid and measured a gait, so plain as to the exterior man, and so sober-minded as respects the interior man, could make so vehement an outcry, and permit his imagination to be so irrecoverably bewildered in metaphor. I assuredly believed you were describing what your corporeal eye discovered. Which of these are you?

> **Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,**
> **Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend**
> **More than cool reason ever comprehends.**
> **The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,**

That if it would but appre
It comprehends some bringer
Or in the night, imagining
How easy is a bush suppose

Excuse me, if I have thus pursued my subject. I thoug best calculated to expose the pe ist's apprehensions: whether de tion, he really entertained them of any foundation upon which conjured up its semblance in The Italians have a proverb latter procedure. It represents hastily, having a serious air of cold iron in his tongs; he plun which a heated piece had just which the vapor yet rests; whi imitate that boiling which does after having made an astoundi and armies, about alarms and and devastation

But why is he angry with Popery? Reason first: Because Popery and the enlightened freedom of the republic cannot coexist. Answer: They have coexisted, they do coexist, they will continue to coexist; they may therefore coexist, they can therefore coexist, let them coexist. Now, we have gone through all the moods and tenses with their coexistence; the American public and I both do know the fact that they have coexisted; and this single fact, whose truth no one can question, which even the writer of the *Telegraph* dare not deny, overturns his whole theory. Reason second: Popery stupefies the conscience. Answer second: This is not only an unwarranted assumption, but a palpable falsehood. When an attempt is made by any one worth notice to sustain the charge, he shall find the answer here given fully upheld. Reason third: Popery blinds the understanding. Answer third: This is not only a gratuitous and a false assertion, but it emanates from a spirit which is equally bereft of humility, of charity, of modesty, of benignity, as of truth. No attempt is made to prove its correctness: should any one undertake the task and appear to make progress, he shall not proceed without being encountered. Reason fourth: Popery withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright. Answer fourth: I shall not affect to misunderstand this; I look upon it to be the hackneyed assertion, that by this light is meant the Bible. This is not withheld by the Catholic Church; but she has preserved it. Without her guardianship it would long since have been lost; without her testimony it would be no authority; she not only gives to her children the Book, but also its commissioned expositor: as the State not only gives to us her statutes, but also her judiciary; and as without the latter the former would be useless, so in religion, the Book without its commissioned judge would prove a rock of destruction in place of being the foundation of doctrine. It is untrue that the Catholic Church withholds the only light which can guide human reason aright; but it is true that she warns her children against receiving

answer.' Reason fifth: I
a superstitious slave to the
hood. Answer fifth: This
language equally offensive
without a single particle of
averments or to justify its
it, as of those that precede
denied: upon him lies the
or submitting to the consequ
defect, I shall feel myself
position.

I have shown his charge,
in which he accounts for the
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account of an incursion of m
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Norfolk paper informs us, "
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and to dwell upon facts. Let him trace effects to their causes, and he will find enemies to the peace and the tranquility of our republic nearer home than in Popery. I would recommend to him to reserve his alarms and his wailings for causes which too plainly demand them, and to pay more attention to the real camps of his associates than to the imaginary camps of non-existent enemies.

VIII.

I now come to exhibit the drift of the paragraphist. He informs his readers, that "the danger to the republic from men of this stamp"—that is, Catholics, tolerant Protestants, drunkards, profane swearers, Sabbath breakers, gamblers, the votaries of dissipation, and infidels—"has been increased by the fact, that they fill some of its important places of trust." Thus, the object of the party whose mouthpiece the editor is, clearly must be, to exclude from office not only Catholics and tolerant Protestants, but all those whom the Evangelicals designate as infidels. He first informs us, that "a bad man injures all with whom he has influence; he injures the community in which he lives; he injures the republic." He proceeds to inform us, that not only is "danger threatened but injury has been inflicted" upon the community and the republic "by some hundreds of thousands of the subjects of Popery and intemperance." He then states, that "thousands of others whose example and influence, even while they plume themselves for patriots, are injuring the republic." Amongst them he enumerates specially "Sabbath breakers, who are weakening the restraints of virtue, and countenancing vice, and encouraging others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the Church of Christ." Thus, when we know that the "Church of Christ," as contra-distinguished from the "synagogue of Satan," means the evangelical combination, as segregated, because of its self-righteousness, from all the tolerant Protestants, the infidels, the ungodly, and the subjects of Popery and intemperance,—we can easily

perceive, when Sabbath breaking is the theme, that the great complaint is the refusal of Congress to comply with the demand of the Church, for stopping the travelling of the mails on Sunday. This refusal is weakening the restraints of virtue; this is the countenancing of vice; this the encouraging of others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the "Church of Christ!" These instructions and ordinances, he informs us, are "the only efficient means which have ever been known for saving a people from gross ignorance, wickedness, and superstition." Thus, having shown us the sources of danger, and the authors of the injury to the republic, he goes on to exhibit how "the danger has been increased" by the fact that such persons "fill important places of trust" in the republic. Clearly, then, the remedy which he considers effectual would be to put such men out of the offices, and to fill them with persons who would encourage others, by their precept and example, to reduce to practice the instructions and ordinances of the evangelical association. He does not like our present government. "So many of them"—tolerant Protestants and infidels—"had, by some means, obtained important stations of trust a year or two since, that no Christian could speak plainly of the dangers to which his country was exposed, without being charged with the crime of 'mingling religion with politics!' They seemed to regard the wise provisions of the Constitution, to prevent the establishment of religion by law, as an ordinance to consign the world of politics to the dominion of infidelity. They seemed to think that they had an exclusive right to reign in the political world."

In all this, I believe we can evidently see the complaint to be, that the persons placed in political power took it into their heads that they were entrusted with the regulation of the political concerns of the country, without being obliged to share their concern in that regulation with the "holy ones" who claimed an exclusive right to reign in the religious world. And when, filled with the zeal of the house of the Lord, the pious fraternity

essayed to aid these infidels—a complimentary name for our government—in the burdensome work of legislation, they were informed that this was "mingling religion with politics." Then the "saints" protested that they sought not to have their Church established by law, as that was forbidden by the Constitution; I believe that they were perfectly sincere, for the object was not to place the Church under the protection of Congress, but to take Congress under the direction of the Church,—and against this there was indeed no express provision made in the Constitution; so that really, without any palpable verbal violation of that instrument, their reasonable desire might be complied with. But if they complained of the men then in places of important trust, what would they say now? Or rather what have they said? I heed but refer to their shameful attack upon the President of the United States for daring to call to the post of attorney-general one of the best lawyers, one of the most consistent politicians, one of the most virtuous private characters in the United States, merely because he was of the same religion as the patriotic, the amiable, the venerable survivor of the band that established our liberty! Yes! one of the plain objects of these men and women who are banded together in the several evangelical associations, is the exclusion from political power of every one who is not of the brotherhood. But this is only as a lemma to their ulterior conclusion. Give them exclusive political power, and then, of course, they will use it for legislative purposes. Then the instructions and ordinances of the "Church of Christ" will of a surety be applied to the rational and religious purposes of saving the people from gross ignorance, wickedness, and superstition. The reform may indeed commence at the post-office, but where is it to stop? Let me recall a few of the ordinances under which the Evangelicals formerly regulated the liberties of Connecticut.

"None shall hold any office who is not sound in the faith." To be sure it was also regulated that he should be "faithful to their dominion." Thus, the spirit is not

changed. As yet they have not the power to make the enactment constitutionally; but let them have such a power as they calculate themselves upon acquiring through the instrumentality of their associations, and they will inevitably have the moral power of making this provision constitutional. They will then be able to revive the penalty. "And whoever votes for such a person shall pay a fine of one pound. For the second offence shall be disfranchised." That this is the object of the party there can be no question. What says the paragraphist? "Hence the outcry raised against the Rev. Dr. Ely for sentiments which he published relative to the importance of electing men of good principles, who could be trusted for civil rulers—sentiments which no man but an infidel need blush to avow." Doctor Ely's sentiments were, that none but "men of good principles"—of course no Papists, no infidels, no Sabbath breakers, no profane swearers, no drunkards, no tolerant Protestants, no anti-Christian moralists—should be elected to offices. And though this could not be immediately effected, he calculates that, by reason of the organized systems of the associations, especially of the Sunday schools, the great bulk of the religious community could ere long be brought to a simultaneous action at the polls, and carry everything before them, according as the wisdom by which they were guided should direct. From candidates the transition is natural to electors. We might next expect the revival of the enactment, "No one shall be a free man, or give a vote, unless he be converted, or a member of one of the Churches allowed in this dominion!" Would the beast be permitted to have "subjects?" Would a Roman Catholic Church be found in the dominion? Why the laws themselves answer: "No priest shall abide in this dominion. He shall be banished, and suffer death on his return." And this law extended to the priests of the Church of England, upon whom I have shown they bestowed such pretty epithets and of whom they furnish so many disgusting descriptions. Yet, there are *priests* of that Church who, without reflecting upon the

consequences, abet efforts which would produce their own ruin! "Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant;" so says the Puritanical legislation. Lest any person should harbor a doubt of the correctness of my meaning of the word "priest," or imagine that there was a disposition to treat the Church of England with kindness or indulgence, I shall furnish another extract from the same code: "No one shall read common prayer, keep Christmas or saints' day, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music, except the drum, the trumpet and the jewsharp."

Allow me to show what more may be reasonably expected if those men should succeed in their plans. "No Quaker or dissenter from the established worship of this dominion shall be allowed to give a vote at the election of magistrates or of any officer." But Americans neither know the history nor the characters of these men, if it is imagined they will, after having attained this point, stop contented. No! The same restless spirit, the same grasping ambition, the same sectarian domination which led them to this acquisition, encouraged by the success of their efforts, will urge them to proceed; and they will re-enact that "No food and lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite or other heretic." And every one who belongs not to the evangelical combination is, in their estimation, an infidel or a heretic. "If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return on pain of death." Papists may, of course, calculate upon giving up all expectation of remaining in the United States, when Dr. Ely's growing phalanx of voters is duly organized and efficient. It is quite against the consciences of the "saints" to permit the subjects of the beast to pollute the soil. I could give the names of several of the associates in Charleston who would not receive Catholics into their employ without enforcing a special clause that they should be under control of their employers on Sundays, and some are honest enough to avow that the object is to prevent their going to Mass and to

oblige them to go to an evangelical church. This is no isolated, no extraordinary case; it is frequent and usual amongst a large class of persons in Charleston to act upon this principle, though not so usual to make the avowal. Catholics looking for employment are thus perpetually worried and disappointed; and when they do get situations, in such places, without agreeing to the clause, they are liable to a variety of petty tyrannies and mean vexations, by throwing obstacles in the way of their attending Mass, their going to the sacraments, and particularly from the shameful contrivance of endeavoring to starve them out of their religion, by keeping from them on days of abstinence such food as they are warranted, by their discipline, to use. Do Americans think that the petty malevolence which thus exhibits itself daily, in Charleston and in so many other places, would, if it were clothed with power equal to its deformity, confine itself to such despicable annoyance? Care would, indeed, be taken, that Popery should not invade the land; chains would be fastened upon "the monster," and he would be smitten by the elect of the Lord. "Drunkards" would, perhaps, be permitted to remain, but they "shall have masters appointed by the select men, who are to debar them the liberty of buying or selling." Protestant Episcopalians must give up their priests. The prelates, of course, would stink in the nostrils of the godly, and common prayer books and minced pies should disappear together. Whether organs would be permitted to remain is doubtful, as the jewsharp has been so little practiced of late that its dulcet notes could, with great difficulty, be brought to equal the diapason. Quakers, Adamites, and other heretics, in a word, all dissenters from the Church, not united with the State, but domineering over the State, being banished—not only would the conveying of mails be stopped upon the "Sabbath," but "no one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day." Alas for the barber! this would not be his sole misfortune, for "every male shall have his hair cut round,

ording to a cap." The fashionable touches of our vators would be useless, as are the powder, bags, puffs l pomatum of their predecessors. "No one shall run a Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, but erently to and from Church." "No woman shall kiss child on the Sabbath or fasting day." Are Americans pared for such domination as this? If they are ready bow their necks to receive this yoke, of course, they l have no difficulty in permitting the enactment of a similar to this: "Whoever wears clothes trimmed h silver or bone lace, above two shillings a yard, ll be presented by the grand jurors, and the select men ll tax the offender at the rate of £300 estate." I ıld ask whether any civilized nation, except under the ıinion of this sect, ever submitted to such a code? I ıld ask whether any despot that ever ruled a degraded ımulation of vassals, dared to impose such a yoke? A n is not allowed to walk in his garden, nor a young ther to kiss her beloved infant on a Sunday![1]

I by no means endeavor to create upon other minds impression different from what exists on my own, en I exhibit these as the consequences likely to flow n the success of these efforts to create a "Christian ty in politics." In 1645 and '46, when the same party l no dominion over the English parliament, but great ouragement from that assembly, they declared: "Toler-ın is the appointing a city of refuge in men's con-ıces for the devil to fly to; a toleration of soul rther, the greatest murther of all others."[2] In the ook of Discipline," published in the reign of Elizabeth, 142, we read: "Kings no less than the rest, must obey, l yield to the authority of the ecclesiastical magistrate." e of their writers (Cartwright) explains this submission: rinces must remember to subject themselves to the ırch, and to submit their sceptres and throw down ir crowns before the Church; yea, to lick the dust off feet of the Church." (P. 645.) Compare this with the

[1] Kingsley's "*Hist. Disc.*," pp. 194-8.
[2] Bennett's "*Introduct. to Abridg. of the London Cases*," p. 6.

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On the 16th of April, th
of May 5, 1831. informa-

The *Telegraph* informs us, in emphatic italics, that "the most of the speakers on the interesting occasion were members of Congress. The friends of Sabbath schools will rejoice to learn that the most distinguished voices in our country are proclaiming the importance of the holy enterprise, which is to cheer and bless and save the youth of our land, and re-echoing from the citadel of freedom, the noble resolution adopted last May, by the American Sunday School Union." The New York *Observer*, another of the associated presses, informs us: "The North, the South, the West, the Middle States were well represented on this occasion."

This does not look like the complaint of men feeling themselves treated with injustice and bereft of friends in important stations of the government of the United States! "Never did our legislators appear in an attitude of superior dignity and interest, than as advocates, in the temple of God, of the great system of religious education, which is wielding its potent influence through their country, commanding the best services of the best men in all communities, of all professions, and destined to pervade the whole of this mighty republic, and even to encircle the globe itself." After declaring that the fact of the system advocated by such men proves that there is no design of uniting Church and State, the *Observer* proceeds: "It is a fortunate circumstance that so many and so highly distinguished public men should have first openly stood forth at the seat of government, in defence of that very institution against which the most envenomed shafts of infidel fury have been hurled." Yet the writer, who is one of the heralds of the party, complains of the danger to the republic, from the fact that what it is pleased to call the "infidel party and the irreligious party" have not only filled some of its important places of trust, but by some means have obtained such stations, a year or two since, as to prevent "Christians" speaking of the dangers to which their country is exposed by Popery, intemperance, infidelity and "Sabbath" breaking, without being charged with the crime

of "mingling religion with politics!" Have they not more than double their share of officers and senators and representatives? Is there a single public institution into which they have not endeavored to worm themselves, and successfully in most instances? On the 16th of April had they not Senator Grundy in the chair, Senator Frelinghuysen preaching, Senator Webster declaiming, and judges and members of Congress and other public men, without measure, applauding? Had they not the President of the United States apologizing and transmitting a message? And of what do they complain? Verily, because they had not all the public officers, all the Congress, all the power of the Union at their command. They were unable to clog the wheels of the mail stages; the mighty meed of honors and power of the court; nay, even the prospect of encircling the great globe itself, were mere nothing, whilst Mordecai sat quietly at the palace gate, unscathed by the lightning of their zeal. They must have uncontrolled dominion; there must be no Popery in the land; infidelity must bow down; intemperance must be extinguished; men's hair must be cut to the measure of a cap; minced pies and Christmas must disappear; neither mail-bags, nor razors, nor scissors, nor brushes, nor combs shall be touched on the "Sabbath;" pots and saucepans must have rest, stages must lie by; nor steam shall roll, nor fire shall burn, nor men shall run, nor mother kiss her babe. These are to be the tokens which will usher in, as glorious auspices, the millennium of the sacred host!

I believe that, from the preceding review, there will exist very little doubt on the mind of any impartial and close observer, respecting at least two great objects of that portion of our citizens who consider themselves "religious." No one can reasonably doubt their efforts and their steady determination to create a "Christian party in politics;" that this party is to consist of those whom they consider sanctified, or converted; that although they are aware that it is not at present a majority, they calculate upon its *becoming* so, through the operation of religious associations,

especially the Sunday schools; that this party is to support such political measures as best agree with the instructions and ordinances of the evangelical Churches; that for this purpose the members will, at the ballot boxes, be induced to act by one spirit, from one impulse, to vote for no candidate who will not merit the confidence of the religious and evangelical. Thus, though they will not seek to make the Church dependent upon the State, they will succeed in making the State dependent upon the Church. The other object is to deliver the republic from its enemies, from the dangers with which it is threatened; one of the most formidable of which is Popery. I might, upon this head, rest satisfied with the evidence which I have adduced; but it will perhaps be allowed me to show that the same sentiments which are expressed by the writer of the paragraph which I review, are entertained everywhere by the same party. I shall give only two specimens. Dr. Beecher gave lectures upon Catholicism lately in Boston, and in his second lecture on the doctrines of the Church of Rome, which was the sixth of his course, as given in the *Telegraph* of March 5, we read:

"He feared that the siren song of 'no danger' would beguile this people in the quiet enjoyment of their great privileges; and that while we were slumbering in the lap of indulgence, we should lose the hardy courage of our fathers, and might be 'shorn of our locks of glory,' our blessings snatched from us before we were aware.

"Infidelity is ready for an alliance with the papal power, to consummate the destruction of our liberties, and the movements of our enemies must be watched with vigilance. If our fears are excited, no physical power can enslave the people. There is in them an unconquerable spirit to defend their rights. The danger is not in an open attack, but in stratagems and wiles. If the conscience be enslaved to superstition, and the liberty of private judgment in religious concerns be wrested from us, our civil rights will of course be prostrated."

The two points are uniformly the same in all the *productions of the* party, viz., the first to identify the

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America. Do the Catholic
I must not, however, expe
contradictions: he seems

f the Catholic Church, falsely so called, have for several ears been laboring with extreme assiduity to spread the rinciples of Popery." They hail the French Revolution s, "it will, we trust, prove a death-blow to the interests f Popery upon the continent." Shall I then charge as agued with the infidels of France, the evangelical stu- ents of Scotland, and the evangelical editors of America, nd the evangelical ministers, who from their pulpits ave glory to God, and called upon their evangelical earers, to exult in the success of the French infidels, who repared for that Revolution and mainly effected it through ie iustrumentality of those very works against which the litor of the *Telegraph* declaims?

I have by no means gone deeply into the documents hich lie under my hand. Yet, I trust, I have shown nough to make it clear, that two of the great objects f the "saints," and the two of primary importance in their stimation, are, to acquire influence over the government, nd to root out the Roman Catholic religion; that they im at succeeding in the first, by means of the votes nrough their organized associations; and in the second y creating distrust, jealousy, fear and horror in the public iind, using to this end calumny and misrepresentation.

IX.

I beg to draw attention to a few more topics of the rticle upon which these letters are a comment. I shall rst exhibit the manner in which the writer lectures our ublic men. Treating of intemperance he writes: "While he land has been stained with the blood of his victims, iany of our political watchmen, who ought to see hat the republic receives no detriment, have been so ntent on elections, that they have not appeared to now of this invasion!" Again, in the next paragraph: The same enemy has plundered our citizens of millions f dollars annually. Had one-half of this sum been con- ributed for the education of men, to give sound religious

instruction to thousands of the uninstructed and prej
in this country, or to send the blessings of Christian
the deluded heathen, some of our political seers would
raised the cry of 'Enthusiasm! These bigoted fanatic
drain the people of their money and ruin the country!'
there is no bigotry—no fanaticism, it seems, in drunker
There is no danger when the guardians of the re
sleep, while millions are plundered from the peopl
prepare an offering of human blood for this insa
Moloch." Again, after complaining that "men of
stamp" which he dislikes, "fill some of the impo
places of trust" of the republic, he adds, "they seem
regard the wise provisions of the Constitution to pr
the establishment of religion by law, as an ordinan
consign the world of politics to the dominion of infi
They seemed to think that they had an exclusive
to reign in the political world." The passages ma
the writer's notion that it is the duty of "our po
watchmen" to regulate his temperance societies, so
prevent the expenditure of those yearly millions of d
for drink, and to provide either directly or indirect
home and foreign missions, by encouraging the edu
of clerical candidates. He seems to charge the "po
seers," as he facetiously calls them, with "sleeping
millions are plundered from the public," though the
the "guardians of the republic." And yet while
sleep, they "have been intent upon elections." I an
fectly unable to discover, if he means our general g
ment, as I suppose he must, upon what ground he i
this very wanton aggression. To sustain his charg
should show, first, that the government, that is, Co
had the power to do what he requires; next, that i
the duty of Congress; and thirdly, that this duty
neglected, either because of their supineness, or be
of their being intent on elections; for I will not l
upon him the blunder of which he was guilty in co
ing sleep and watchfulness.

Now I deny at once, that Congress has any power
ever to interfere directly or indirectly with the temp

lucational, or missionary societies, or with the conduct of ıdividuals in respect to them. Any legislative action of ongress upon any of those subjects would be direct usur-ıtion, palpably invalid, and dangerous to the liberties of ıe republic: and as such, it would and it ought to be ɜsisted. The paragraphist appears to be altogether ignoıınt of the principles upon which our general government ıs been formed, as also of the source and the extent of ıs powers. I doubt if any State government in the Union ɔssesses the power which he would call upon it to ɜsume; I know several which positively do not; and here any legislation upon either of those subjects would ' course be gross usurpation, which it would be the duty ' every patriot to oppose.

The governments under which our affairs are adminis-red derive their powers from conventions of the people, . which alone the sovereignty, properly and strictly speak-g, resides. These conventions have expressed the popular ill in written constitutions. The legislatures derive their ɔwers from the people, through those constitutions, and ıly to their extent. In many of them are to be found ·clarations of rights, in others of them restraining clauses ıd principles, and in some a combination of both; and here the legislative power is thus restrained by the ɔpular will, any effort to violate or to evade the restraint ɔuld be an act of palpable usurpation. ' It was to the ɔman dictator who was clothed with absolute and unre-ricted power, that the charge was given "to see that e republic received no detriment." If given to a consul was only upon an extraordinary case of great and ıminent danger, when the very use of the phrase was uivalent to the withdrawal of the usual clogs and straints by which his power was limited. Our govern-ents are not absolute and unrestricted, our legislators ve not unlimited power conferred upon them, they are t complete sovereigns, and so far from having absolute wer "to see that the republic receives no detriment," e power of Congress is exceedingly restrained, as regards

the people. I am no advocate for the notion of nullification; but I do know that our general government has not power either to enact that we shall abstain from meat on Friday or Saturday or that we shall eschew whiskey on Sunday; nor has it the power to lay an excise tax of one cent a hogshead upon the said whiskey, for the purpose of giving the said cent to aid the education of a missionary, either for Virginia, or Liberia, or Otaheite, or Ceylon, or China. Why then does the paragraphist assail our "political seers?" Does he desire to urge them to usurpation and the people to resistance? I defy his utmost ingenuity to exhibit any mode in which Congress has the power to aid him directly or indirectly.

He appears to have embraced the doctrine respecting government, which was preached up in so many parts of Europe, by the churchmen of all denominations, who found the government favorable to their views or who expected to make it favorable. They declared that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to protect the Church, to aid in the propagation of truth, in the diffusion of the Gospel, in providing for the instruction of the people in the way of salvation. It is not my business here to examine how far this might or might not have been a duty of any European or other government. I merely content myself with denying that such power has been given to the Congress of the United States. The doctrine of our Constitution plainly recognizes in that body only the powers which have been specially delegated thereto; and in vain will one look through the catalogue of the conceded powers, for that of protecting the Church, or, as the confession of faith of the Presbyterian Church expresses itself: "Yet as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord."[1] They have no such duty in this republic nor have they any such power. They are appointed for a special object; and they have no authority beyond their special appointment. That appointment is, to look to such political concerns as have *been* entrusted to their exclusive management. They are

[1] C. xxiii, s. iii.

forbidden to "mingle religion with politics," not because they are specially prohibited from making any "law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" but because the people of the States, in creating their powers, gave them no such delegation.

The first article of the same chapter of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, contains an assertion not recognized by our republic: "God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be under Him, over the people, for His own glory and the public good." So much of this as asserts that God ordained the civil magistrate to be under Him, for His own glory, is, as regards our general government, a political heresy, and the Presbyterian Confession of Faith is, so far, in direct contradiction to our constitutional doctrine. This being a fundamental error, its consequences extensively pervade the whole of the opinions and acts of the body. The first consequence will be found in the same article—"and to this end, He hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that are good and for the punishment of evil-doers." The reasoning is this: God having appointed the civil magistrate under Himself, for His own glory gave to him the power of the sword to encourage them that are good (that is, who promote that glory), and for the punishment of evil-doers, (who oppose that glory). It more distinctly exhibits itself in the article of the same chapter,[1] where it tells us that Christians who execute the office of magistrate, "in the managing thereof, ought especially to maintain piety, justice, and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth;" of course the "civil magistrate" is not, in this document, the executive or the judicial only, but the legislative also: it is, therefore, his duty as God's delegate, for His glory, to use his legislative power to maintain piety; not, however, it is true, by violating the wholesome law of the commonwealth. I shall show before I close this section of how little value

[1] C. xxiii, s. ii.

to use the mildest phr
in each case.

The third article of
civil magistrates may r
the word and sacraments
kingdom of heaven, (I
mean by this phrase), or
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common Lord." How are
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and false worship; to destroy the kingdom of Antichrist; to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to take care that the Word of the Gospel be preached everywhere, that God may be honored and worshiped by every one as He commands in His Word."[1]

We need not be astonished that persons who believe as an article of faith, that the civil magistrate has the power here described, and is bound by his office to act as here indicated, should accuse him of being "asleep" in not extirpating Popery, which they describe as a "false Church," "persecuting those who live holily according to the Word of God, and rebuke her for her errors, covetousness and idolatry."[2] But these good gentlemen forget that the people of America, who are the true sovereigns of these republics, never gave such power to their civil magistrates or to the general government; and consequently it is not their "office"—but it would be gross and palpable usurpation for them to attempt its exercise.

It is true, the Presbyterian article goes on to say that the nursing fathers should afford this protection to the Church "without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger." The articles of their confession may, I presume, be fairly made to explain each other. Upon this principle I proceed to examine whether this confession means that Roman Catholics, as a denomination of Christians, form any portion of what the article describes as the Church which is to be protected. They describe the visible Church as consisting of "all those who throughout the world profess the true religion, together with their children."[3] They state that "particular Churches which are members of that Catholic Church are sometimes more or less visible, are more or less pure;"[4] furthermore that "some have so degenerated as to become no Churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan."[5] The text referred to, for the purpose of

[1] Article xxxvi. [2] Article xxiii. [3] C. xxv, s. ii. [4] Ib., s. iv. [5] Ib., s. v.

sustaining this assertion, is that which the "saints" uniformly quote to show that the Roman Catholic Church is Babylon, the habitation of devils. They describe the Pope, who is the visible head of the Roman Catholic Church, as Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, exalting himself against God and Christ.[1] Hence, we may fairly conclude that Roman Catholics are not considered members of that Church which the nursing fathers are bound to protect; and the Christian denominations, of which none is to receive a preference, are those particular Churches, which, though differing in their degree of purity, yet have not so far degenerated as to become synagogues of Satan—they are Churches, not "no Churches."

But supposing Roman Catholics to be admitted not to be Antichrist, but to be a Christian denomination, the clause would, if it consisted merely of the words, "without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest," seem to imply that no distinction was to be drawn; but the general expressions are greatly restrained by the specific description, "in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy full and free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger." Thus, leaving them at liberty to discharge their sacred functions without being exposed to violence or danger for their performance would appear to be the extent of protection. The last clause of the article might be quoted to sustain this construction, and to show that even Catholics may be included in the protection. "It is the duty of the civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner, as that no person be suffered, either on pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse or injury to any other person whatsoever, and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assembles be held without molestation or disturbance." Now, if Roman Catholics are to have the benefit of this clause, how does it happen that the civil magistrates do not protect their good name against the

[1] C. xxv. s. vi.

calumny and vituperation of the "saints?" How does it happen that the civil magistrates do not interfere to protect them from the indignity of vulgar nicknames, from the injury of being falsely charged with designs upon the liberties of the republic, from the insult of being classed with drunkards, blasphemers and debauchees? Is it for neglecting to perform this duty that the paragraphist assails the political watchmen and charges them with drowsiness and negligence? Clearly not. Is it for neglecting to protect the persons and the good name of the "saints?" Clearly not. "Nursing father" must then, in his estimation, mean something more than being this description of protector. Let us look at the only remaining clause of this third article, to try what it contains. "And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in His Church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let or hinder the due exercise thereof among voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief." Now this is somewhat ambiguous, as being susceptible of two interpretations. It states clearly, first, that Christ gave a law; secondly, that no commonwealth should interfere with the observance of that law. All this is plain. But the question arises, and an important one: Who shall give the true and correct meaning of that law, where a difference arises as to that meaning? I am prepared to say that the principle of our government is, that each denomination is to follow its own interpretation, and the government is not to interfere with them in their construction, nor to place any let or hindrance to their own observance of that law so interpreted, where it does not injure the community at large. They may believe what they please; they may have such mode of Church government as they please; they may pray and fast and read and sing and dance, as they think that law requires or authorizes; and the civil magistrate has no power to interfere with them whilst they alone are concerned. But if any one of them shall tell the civil magistrate that

God Almighty forbids his transmitting the mail-bag on a particular day, and entrusting it to be so conveyed by another person who thinks that the Almighty left him at liberty to undertake it, and declare to that magistrate that he is guilty of a high crime and violation of the law of God, and that his human law is therefore to be nullified, as being in violation of the constitution of Jesus Christ—this sectarian goes out of his sphere and acts with equal impropriety as the Israelite or Seventh-day Baptist would, who should insist on the legislator's following his interpretation of the divine law, and thereby require the mail to be arrested on the "Sabbath" (Saturday), and force the evangelical "saint" to travel with it on the Lord's Day (Sunday). Hence, if under this clause, it should be contended that the civil magistrate ought to be a nursing father to the Church, and is bound to protect, by putting no hindrance, that is, by carrying into execution amongst other sects any construction which some pre-eminent religious societies might give to the divine law, the doctrine would be in direct contradiction to our principles of general government. This latter, I believe, is the construction which the greater portion of the "saints" give to the clause. This construction fully agrees with the doctrine of the Confession of Faith of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is evangelical.[1] The office of the civil magistrate is therein declared to be "to protect the holy Church service, and to prevent and extirpate all idolatry and false worship," etc. If this was the duty of "the political watchmen," then it was their duty to avoid sleeping whilst such enemies as intemperance and Popery were making inroads. The broad construction of general welfare, or seeing that the republic receives no detriment, is one which no good republican can admit. It is giving to Congress a power to do everything it might fancy; and in this instance it is pleaded for the purpose of calling upon them to prevent distillation, to send officers to examine our houses, watch over us at meals, and break *our jugs* and bottles. I am an enemy to intemperance,

[1] Article xxxvi.

but I am also an enemy to tyrants; and I know of no tyranny more despotic and despicable than that which the "saints" would exercise over our civil authorities, if they were permitted; and which they have endeavored to exercise under the pretext that the civil powers of legislation, of judgment, and of execution must be subordinate to the law of God, as expounded by those men who thus seek for liberty to restrain our liberty. They have recourse to the old European maxim, that civil officers are God's deputies, so that they might themselves have the right, as God's interpreters, to guide these deputies. They would form a new species of heavenly aides-de-camp in the Church militant, to bring the high behests of Jehovah to the several leaders of the civil host. Yet, these are the men who affect so deep an "interest in transmitting our republican institutions unimpaired to our children!"

The principles of our "saints" respecting our government appear to be derived from their confessions of faith; and some of them are, that the civil magistrate is a deputy under God, over the people, to promote God's glory; that he is bound to protect the true Church; that he is bound to extirpate idolatry; that he is obliged to take care that the Word of God be preached and distributed; that he must be cautious not to legislate against God's holy law; that he do not encourage others to neglect the instructions and ordinances of the Church of Christ; and that in these instructions and ordinances he will see plainly exhibited the true intent and meaning of that law.

The constitutional principles respecting the general government are, that all its power is derived from the people of the United States; that neither the individual officers nor the aggregate shall assume any power which has not been plainly granted; that such assumption would be palpable usurpation; that the people not only did not give them any power to regulate or protect morals or religion, but absolutely forbade their interference with religion in that way which alone seemed possibly open to them; that the people, then and now, were and are an

aggregate holding various religious opinions, not only widely different, but absolutely contradictory in several and most important particulars; that, therefore, it was never conceded that the law of God, as understood by any one division or any number of divisions, was to be given as a rule to guide or to restrain the legislation, judgments, or execution of the general government;—nay, even that if all its members were Jews, Mahometans, Universalists, Catholics, and infidels, as they might be; yet they would not be authorized to denounce nor to inconvenience Evangelicals, Episcopalians, Baptists, Covenanters, Seceders, Unitarians, nor any other denomination, by legislating according to their own special religious notions. They were commissioned, not to regulate religion or morals, but to manage civil and political concerns, and they have no power to be nursing fathers to the Church. The "saints" have mistaken our Constitution.

X.

In order more fully to exhibit what I consider to be the grand mistake of our "saints" as regards the power of our general government, I shall in this section enter somewhat fully into the development of those facts and principles, which I consider necessary to be well understood, to insure our arriving at a correct conclusion.

In the first place, then, I state that our general government is so completely different from all those which have existed or now exist in other places, that no argument of analogy can be drawn from their powers or acts to show what those of our federal government are or ought to be. I might, indeed, discover some institutions bearing a great similarity, but the principle of their construction was essentially different, and though there might be considerable semblance in the appearance, there would be no true likeness. Perhaps, making due allowance for the difference between principalities and republics and between an emperor and a president, the original frame of the Holy Roman Empire or Germanic Confederation

would be found the nearest approximation to the principle. But the points of difference would be found to exceed the points of agreement; and in the very particular which contains the ground of the evangelical mistake there is not only a total want of analogy, but their exists a palpable contradiction; so that what was the sworn obligation of the emperor, would be in the president a violation of his solemn and sacred duty. Thus, I consider that endeavoring to apply the rules and maxims of Europe, especially to our general administration, is worse than ridiculous.

It might be asked, why I confine my remarks to the federal government; why not extend them to the State governments? There are two reasons, either of which would, I believe, be sufficient to restrain me. First, the efforts of the associates are directed to the action of the general government. Secondly, the principle of power is not the same in the general as in the State governments. A contest might with more facility be maintained, to show that perhaps the State governments are not altogether bereft of a power of religious regulation, and it could, I think, be established that they are clothed with jurisdiction to preserve and to guard the public morals; while I think it perfectly clear that the federal government has no power as respects either, save as far as the territory under its exclusive jurisdiction is concerned. Hence, my observations are altogether directed to maintain the incompetency of the federal government to legislate upon religion or morals, directly or indirectly, for the people of the United States, or to assume in its legislation that this is what the "saints" call a "Christian" country, rather than one which they would designate "infidel and anti-Christian."

Before I come to the special inquiry respecting the origin and extent of the powers of our general government, I feel it necessary that we should fully understand each other upon the principles of religious legislation. I trust there will be no difficulty in admitting that each

individual has at least one indefeasible right with which no power can interfere; that right is the liberty of thought, in the most extended meaning of the expression. I shall develop the meaning of the proposition, as I desire to be perfectly distinct. God has given to every reasonable being the powers of perfection; it would be absurd to attempt an interference with this power, save by presenting the object properly before the mind. Perhaps the individual himself has no control over this power, when he is placed where it must be exercised. If he opens his eyes he cannot avoid seeing; if you speak he cannot avoid hearing; if you touch him he cannot avoid feeling. It is true he might keep his eyes closed or his ears stopped or avoid coming within your reach; but when he does not thus place obstacles, he is, so far as perception is concerned, rather passive and powerless. He is morally accountable for those perceptions which he voluntarily causes; but when he puts the cause he cannot prevent the effect. When he reasons upon his perceptions, if he reasons honestly, he has no control over his conclusions. He might dishonestly, through prejudice or partiality, avoid examining those premises which would guide him to a correct result, or he might willingly assume without good grounds those which will mislead him; and then he draws a legitimate though a false conclusion from falsehoods thus culpably admitted, and this admission is criminal. He might also honestly err, through want of information or of intellect, and then, though wrong, he is not criminal. No human tribunal can interfere with this mental process; it cannot be regulated by human legislation. The tribunal of conscience and the tribunal of that God who will judge all the acts of the soul are the only ones before which the guilty can be convicted. Subject to this accountability, every individual has the right to investigate for the discovery of truth: and this right is indefeasible. Nay, it would be ridiculous to attempt to coerce it; for it would be impossible.

No man has a right to compel another to profess a *lie.* This is too plain to need either explanation or proof.

A lie is a crime; and he who voluntarily compels another to be guilty is not innocent.

From these premises I infer that no human government can be vested with a power to require a man to profess what he does not believe, nor can it compel him to entertain any particular belief. But a different question is now to be examined, that is, whether government can, for the public benefit, require under penalty, that an individual shall not publish what he considers truth; and whether he may be compelled to conform to a course of proceeding which he considers at least useless and unnecessary, if not mischievous.

To solve this last question I would first ask whether the course of proceeding to which the government requires conformity is clearly and absolutely necesary to attain the end for which it was created, and whether it be mischievous in reality or only in the opinion of one or of a small number of individuals. And whether, if it be mischievous, it is so because of its immorality, or is mischievous only in so far as it is injurious to a few and beneficial to the public at large. If it be not immoral, and if it be useful to the great community, and so declared by them, or by their government, clearly the maxim will hold, "Salus populi suprema lex;" the government can and ought to require conformity.

Hence, where the government has not reason to suspect that it might be in error and the non-conforming individual right, and that the legitimate end for which it was constituted can be best attained by requiring the conformity of the few to the conduct observed by the great mass of the community, and that if this be not enforced that end can scarcely, if at all, be attained; the individual or the few are obliged to conform or to leave the community.

Let us now apply this to the subject of religion; and to be better able to do so, let us first agree as to what religion is. I would say that it is, paying to God homage in that way which He himself points out. I assume here

that He has given a revelation. Perhaps we had better first see what government cannot do. It cannot make a system of religion; because that is, as we have seen, the prerogative of God, and to be exercised only by Him or by deputation from Him, and that deputation must be so plainly given as not to admit of any rational doubt. Now, the deputation to make such a system has never, that I know of, been claimed by any of our modern governments: certainly not by any of our American governments, whether State or federal.

It cannot publish as certain, that any particular system of religion is true, unless it has such evidence of its truth as will remove every reasonable doubt that this system is that which was given by God: and the ground for reasonable doubt can never be removed by such testimony as is liable to error; and upon their own acknowledgment every one of the Protestant Churches is liable to err in giving this testimony: hence no government can reasonably proclaim any one Protestant Church to be the teacher of the true system of God's revelation. No government can require any man to sustain a religion by any act that he believes to be contrary to God's law or revelation, or subject him to any inconvenience for refusing to sustain it, unless the government itself is infallibly certain that the law or revelation is exactly what it proclaims and has no ground whatever of doubt that the recusant is palpably in error. Nor can a government, even with this certainty, interfere with the conscientious rights of individuals, nor can it restrain their profession or acts, except it be specially charged with this duty by that power whence it derives its authority, save so far as to preserve the peace and temporal well-being of the community. In the establishment of the Christian revelation, its Author never gave to any temporal or civil government any such power by any delegation special or general; consequently, if any government claims any such power, it must be shown that it is derived, like all the other powers which it possesses. from those who created

it. I have here developed the great principles upon which I believe we all agree, and which, being duly applied to the facts of each case as they are ascertained, will enable us to arrive at proper conclusions.

There is, however, one other principle of jurisprudence which is universally admitted by all reasonable men, and which is sustained also by the Redeemer Himself, respecting the duty of a government, having no doubt whatever as to what is the system of true religion, and charged either by God or by man with its protection; that principle is, that when religious error has made considerable progress in the State, and that it is impossible peaceably to correct the evil, the government must permit its existence, even though it do not approve of or countenance the same: for even a considerable minority possess rights of which they cannot be divested; and, in this case, the evil of oppressing a large body of citizens, who, though in religious error, yet are otherwise in the peace of the State, would produce serious evils to the community at large. This is the case in which an enemy has sown tares through the wheat; both spring up together: and yet the Saviour declares that we must leave the time of separation to His own harvest, when, in the order of nature, death will have cut down both.

How preposterous, then, would it be in a mixed community to assert that a government which neither has a commission to interfere with the religion of individuals, or of the public composed of those individuals, and which has no reasonable ground of certainty by which it might ascertain the true religion, should have power to make religious discrimination between its citizens?

In Europe, when Christianity was fully established, the people believed, whether correctly or otherwise matters not for our present purpose, that Jesus Christ had established but one Church, to whose care He committed the preservation of the deposit of His doctrine and the dispensation of His sacraments; they also believed that this Church consisted of the great body of prelates, who were the

teachers, and, in case of controversy, the judges to testify by their judicial decision what Christ had revealed; at the head of this body of prelates was, by divine appointment, the successor of the Apostle St. Peter, who died in the city of Rome, and whose bishop thereby became his successor; in this successor was also vested the chief executive authority. When the great body of the prelates, with the adherence of the vast majority of their flocks, in union with that head of the visible Church, declared that what they had received from their predecessors as the doctrine of God agreed with what they found to be the testimony of all preceding ages, and that they also found it conformable to the Sacred Scriptures, whose preservation and guardianship, both as to their matter and spirit, was committed to their predecessors and to themselves; the declaration was considered to be the solemn judgment of the Church, from which there was no appeal, and was regarded as an infallibly correct exhibition of God's law, from which no person could lawfully dissent; since God had established this Church to be their authorized teacher in His name, on His behalf, and guided in such decisions by His Holy Spirit. Thus, whether their belief was religiously correct or not, in fact all the people and governments of Europe looked upon such a testimony as giving to them unquestionable certainty of what was God's will respecting His service. If their position was correct, there would be no impropriety, when they were unanimous in this belief, in their vesting a power in the government to protect the Church, and in making it part of the duty of the civil magistrate to prohibit the introduction of what all were certain must be error: and this not only because of its mere religious incorrectness, but also because of the schisms, strifes, violence and breaches of the peace which necessarily accompanied such innovations. It was in this manner, that when in Europe there was but one religion, the civil magistrate, with the consent of the people, assumed, retained and exercised the power of being "a nursing father to the Church;" and

it is only in such a case he could properly assume or exercise such a power. Three conditions must coexist: the absence of either of which would render the assumption a nefarious usurpation. First, the government and the people must be so nearly unanimous on the subject of religion, as that there could scarcely be found any body of dissenters worth notice. Secondly, it will not suffice that this vast majority have only a great or a superior probability, that theirs is that system of religion which God has established: they must have reasonable and sufficient grounds to remove doubt and to create certainty. Thirdly, the power which created the government must have, either directly or by acquiescence, vested the government with the authority of giving such protection.

I do not know a single European government, at the period of the great change of religion and of separation from the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, which had not, upon the ground of the coexistence of these three conditions, been "nursing fathers" to the Roman Catholic Church. In some instances they took good wages for their fostering care; in others, they enacted laws too cruel for Christian governments to execute; in very many instances, under the pretext of protecting the Church, they indulged the spirit of rapine and revenge, and committed, in the name of God, deeds incompatible with His attributes. All these evils have been greatly exaggerated, falsehood has been added to the truth, and the Church has been made accountable for all the mischief done in her name, frequently against her will. I am far from denying that many of her prelates have been unworthy of the places which they held, and in the midst of such scenes have exhibited themselves fit associates for those amongst whom they lived. But, whilst religion weeps at the scandals caused, she laments the disingenuity of the historian who suppresses the record of the heroic virtue, the glorious spirit of patriotism and purity, which distinguished vast numbers of her sons and daughters, as also the fervid and well-*regulated piety* and wisdom of a large portion of

kings, emperors and other governors, and their counsellors and officers, who, whilst they aided the cause of truth and of virtue, made more wide and solid the foundations of public liberty, civilization, literature, arts, manufactures, commerce and social institutions.

When religious innovation was introduced, parties were created, strife ensued, persecution wielded her destructive implements, hatred, contention, war and rapine desolated the fairest portions of the civilized world. Without examining the ground upon which the governments gradually assumed and exercised the power of being "nursing fathers" to the Church, Catholics and Protestants went back to the Jewish theocracy for precedent and authority, thus assuming to found their respective claims upon an analogy which never did and never could exist.

Upon the Protestant principle the second of the conditions which I have stated as being requisite to sustain this nursing claim never could exist; and therefore the idea of a Protestant government fostering a Church is an absurdity. Whenever the dissenters from the Catholic faith became numerous, though they should be only a feeble minority, the first condition ceased to exist; and if in addition to this, the public will should be dissatisfied at the continuance of this power in the government, that still strengthened the claim for its abandonment. The operation of these causes has in Europe produced, through a series of struggles and calamities, that revolution which, by gradual progress, has nearly severed the Church from its connection with the State.

But in America, at the period of our Revolution, not one of those conditions existed, and the popular mind, urged to the examination of first principles, in most instances recognized the maxims which I have endeavored to develop; and in giving to our governments their powers, generally, not only did the people not bestow upon them this power of guardianship, or of being "nursing fathers," but in several instances directly prohibited its assumption. It is true that in some of the States the

ancient bitterness and bigotry, united with the imagination of popish terrors, caused them to prohibit the elevation of Roman Catholics to certain places of honor or trust; but with only two melancholy and disgraceful exceptions, viz., of North Carolina and of New Jersey,[1] this prohibition has been cancelled; and Maryland has also blotted from her constitution the ridiculous and unbecoming exclusion from office of the Jews. Thus the "nursing fathers" principle and all such like are generally unknown to the spirit as to the letter of our State constitutions. Nor could it well be otherwise. The constitutions have been made for and by people of every variety of religion, who in many instances had experienced the evils of the last struggles of the Church and State union or severance in Europe, and who determined to guard against their introduction here.

But in forming our federal government it was distinctly regulated that it was not to exercise any power, save that which was specially granted to it by the people of the States. To exercise any other would be palpable usurpation. The powers granted were exclusively political, and the jealousy of the people, by a distinct and specific declaration, restrained Congress from the exercise of the only power connected with religion, which it was supposed possible for them to assume. Thus, whether the governments in other places might or might not make religious regulations, the federal government is bound to confine itself strictly to the exercise of the powers with which it is vested; and they are purely political, to the exclusion of religious questions, whether general or special, directly or indirectly. Congress has no power to nurse the Evangelical, nor to frown upon the Papist; it cannot prefer the Christian to the Jew; nor bestow one cent either to plant the Gospel in Monrovia, to build a synagogue at Grand Island, or a mosque in New York.

[1] This law, in both States, is now repealed.

XI.

I have exhibited the facts and principles upon which it must be evident that our federal government is not warranted to intermeddle with the interests of religion, directly or indirectly. It is not commissioned to take any part whatever in religious concerns. I now proceed to show that the United States cannot with any degree of truth be called a "Protestant country" in the meaning of the "saints."

Protestantism, according to different authors, has different meanings. Chillingworth, an eminent English writer, calls Protestantism "the religion of the Bible." That is, every man who finds his religion in the Bible is a Protestant. I need go no farther to show the folly of this definition, not to notice its obscurity, than to state that, according thereto, Roman Catholics are Protestants, because they assert that their doctrines are found in the Bible and are drawn therefrom. But suppose I admit the definition to be good. I venture to assert that a large proportion of our population does seriously hesitate as to believing the Sacred Volume to be the Word of God or a religious authority, and do not draw their principles of religion from that source, but from what they call reason. The "saints" themselves inform us, that infidelity is widely spread through the country, and deplore as a serious evil to the republic the number of infidels; so that of all who believed in the religion of the Bible (and which of us could undertake upon Protestant principles to point out accurately and certainly what that is?) were to be deducted from our population, though we should retain a vast majority, yet we should suffer a serious diminution: and by our social compact, that minority is entitled to all the rights of citizenship, including the right of eligibility to office and its enjoyment if elected. Not only is this the case in our general government, but it is the case in every one of our States, save North Carolina and New Jersey, which require the qualification of Protestantism for civil office.

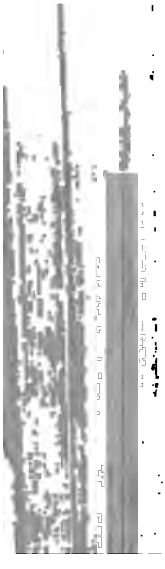
Others define Protestantism to be "the religion of the Protestant Episcopalian Church." Whatever may be the case in Great Britain, certainly this will not hold good in America. It is by others defined to be "the profession of Christianity with dissent from Popery." Thus the Greek, the Armenian, the Russian, the Nestorian and the hundred other Eastern sects would be Protestants. This is a classification as curious as it is absurd. It would exhibit to us the extraordinary fact of American Protestants sending missionaries to Asia, for the purpose of converting Protestants to Protestantism. We must give up this definition. Others tell us that Protestantism is 'the adhering to Lutheran or Calvinistic Churches or to some one of the branches derived from them." Thus Armenians and strict Calvinists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Zuinglians who deny the real presence and Lutherans who assert it, Trinitarians and Unitarians, Methodists who believe in the existence of hell and Universalists who deny its existence, and a vast variety of other discordant divisions, are all Protestants. But to be a Protestant it is necessary to be a member of some one of those divisions. Suppose that I assume this to be the correct definition of Protestantism; is ours a Protestant country? Let us deduct the Roman Catholics and the infidels from the aggregate population; let us again deduct all those who, though they have some vague notion of revelation, and believe that indeed the Bible is the Word of God, neither know why they think so, nor can they form any distinct notion of its doctrines; and say that they belong to no Church, and as yet have their religion to choose; let us add this large mass of our population to the Catholics and infidels, and ask whether, because we call the remainder Protestants, this is "a Protestant country?" I ask which of the two divisions is more numerous? I shall not undertake to make a positive assertion, but I apprehend that it is as likely that the majority is on what would be called the non-Protestant side. If such be the fact, this cannot with propriety be

called a Protestant, a Catholic or an infidel country. It is properly and strictly speaking a country of no distinct religious denomination, but one of perfect freedom and of a vast variety of religious opinions; one whose inhabitants have solemnly interdicted its government from any interference, direct or indirect, with the subject of their religion.

Did the "saints" acquiesce in this latter definition of Protestantism, I apprehend they would have no ground either for asserting that this was a Protestant country, or that there was a majority of the inhabitants who wished the government to act upon the subject of religion, to be "nursing fathers" to their common Church. Where does it exist? But I am under the impression that our evangelical brethren will not admit Unitarians, Universalists, Socinians, or many other of the subdivisions which have branched forth from the stocks of Luther and Calvin, to be Protestants, correctly speaking; they generally assert that these divisions are heterodox; that they err in fundamentals; that they have departed from the faith once given to the "saints;" and I have found them, in most instances, to make the specific difference of Protestantism to consist in "the doctrine of justification by faith." I am under the impression that this is the grand distinctive character of orthodoxy. If so, we must take as the definition of Protestantism, "the belief of justification by faith in the Redeemer." This is the evangelical standard; and I go very far in their favor when I say, that perhaps one-sixth of the population, according to this definition, may be classed as Protestants. And if this be actually the case, upon what ground will they say that this is in their view, or in strict truth, a Protestant country?

Thus, I am under the impression that, however reluctantly, and with what bad grace it will be yielded, yet the confession must be made that this is not a Protestant country. Did Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas and Missouri, upon their incorporation with the United States, not stipulate that they should continue to possess all their

ligious rights? Was not the stipulation acceded to? ere they not Catholic at the period of their incorpotion? Have they become Protestant? Is there any disnction between their rights and those of Connecticut, aine or Pennsylvania, or the District of Columbia? Are e Protestants who have emigrated into those formerly atholic colonies stripped therein of any right which a atholic enjoys? Are not Protestant sheriffs, magistrates, gislators, judges, generals, governors, representatives and nators in those places, in double, treble and quadruple tio of their numbers, without any complaint, jealousy or spleasure on the part of the Catholics? Are they not, in ost instances, placed in those stations by Catholic votes? Vhy, then, shall not Catholics have similar rights in the rmer Protestant colonies, or are we to have different ws or principles of action under our common government, ecause of our religious diversities? Hitherto we have een content to permit our fellow-citizens of other relious denominations to take precedence of us in the actual njoyment of the honors and the emoluments of office. Ve voluntarily abstained from the contest, and rested ntent with the fruits of our industry, without seeking ther to feed at the public crib, or to be caparisoned ith the public housings; we neither inquired what was ie religion of the candidate, nor whether his eyes were ack, or blue, or gray, or hazel. We were led to imagine at such inquiry would be not only foolish but impertient. It seems, however, that we were in error. This is Protestant country, and it ought to have a Protestant overnment! No. It is not a Protestant country; the atholic has here equal rights with the Protestant; and is assumption of the "saints" is a falsehood in fact, it a legal untruth, a constitutional absurdity. If ninetyine hundredths of the present population were to become atholics to-morrow, they would be morally criminal did they clude the remaining hundredth portion from any civil, or olitical, or religious right; and under our Constitution the tempt would be usurpation, and therefore invalid. They



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d send only Catholics to their Legislature—or to Con-
ess—if they should exclude from all offices in the State
ery person who was not a member of their Church, what
cry of bigotry, intolerance, persecution and violated rights
ould be set up! And very properly. It would be of no
ail that they should answer, that theirs was a Catholic
ate; that they destroyed no public right; that upon
eir books the eligibility of every man was recognized;
at they allowed Protestants equally as Catholics to be
ndidates; that they punished no man who thought
oper to vote for them, but that they merely exercised
eir own undoubted right of voting as they thought
oper. All this might be very specious, but the evil
ould be too palpable; and the obvious answer would be,
at the combination and its object were equally against
e spirit of the Constitution; that we judged them not so
uch by what they had written, as by what they had
one. The people of America would not permit this vio-
tion of public rights by Catholics. Will they permit a
orse violation by the "saints?"

The Evangelicals complain, that "whilst the land had
en stained with the blood of the victims of intemper-
nce, many of our political watchmen, who ought to see
at the republic receives no detriment, have been so
tent on elections, that they have not appeared to know
this invasion." What invasion? They have made such
atements as would lead one to suppose that we were the
ost intemperate people upon earth, and that our conduct
as becoming worse; whereas, in fact, we are compara-
vely a temperate people, and yearly improving. This
nprovement had made great progress before their mania
ommenced; and their efforts, however injudicious upon
rinciple and mischievous in misstatements and exaggera-
ons, have perhaps considerably accelerated that improve-
ent. But what would they have the political watchmen
—that is, the members of the federal government—to do
n this case? They complain that "the guardians of the
epublic sleep while millions are plundered from that peo-

sion of an empire wit
ened freedom of the r
and religious liberty a
tury cannot coexist with
"injuries are inflicted u
of thousands of the sub
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true. I ask by what con
ment to remove the evil?
danger to the republic fi
increased by the fact tha
places of trust." Of cou
ought to be ejected."

We know that it is
patriotic to be a railer a
are constitutionally in of
with as much decorum as
lated governments of

ings. This they have done; this they are doing. And so far from deserving the vile and unbecoming vituperation of the "holy ones," the aggregate of our federal officers will stand an advantageous comparison with most other governments in existence. It is a melancholy instance of the misapplication of religious censure when the vial of the zealot's wrath is thus unsparingly poured out upon the heads of men selected to fill arduous and honorable posts; because, though their general demeanor is correct, they do not exactly agree in religious notions with that self-sufficient prophet who assumes to be their judge.

But again I ask, what would this man require to be done? He would purify the public offices. Of whom? He would banish the intemperate! Will he charge this vice upon our government? Is the wretched libeller who scribbles a few pages of a tour through our States, and publishes to Europe the degrading caricature which he has sketched of America, to be sustained in his slanders by the testimony of our "saints?" Is it not enough that they invite the profligates of the old world to people our commercial metropolis, and thus engraft upon it that noxious excrescence which they affect to abhor? Is it not enough that they expose the virtuous female of that city to the rude gaze of every inquisitive debauchee; that they cause the blush of confusion to mantle the cheek of every woman who acknowledges that city as her home? Is it not enough that they have filled every manly heart with indignation, every sensitive bosom with pain, whilst their Magdalen report flies on the wings of the wind through every quarter of the globe, blighting the fair fame of the chaste daughters of our land? And will they in addition to this endeavor still farther to disgrace us by the inglorious defamation of those men, whom we ourselves have selected as the rulers of our country? Are these officers drunkards? Are they votaries of dissipation, whose example is pernicious to the community? Are they infidels? The President and four or five members of his late cabinet were worshipers if not members in a Presbyterian church at

Washington. Is the charge of gambling made upon them? What has provoked the men of God to denounce the government as they have done? "So many of them [anti-Christians, infidels, votaries of dissipation, etc.] had by some means obtained such stations, [important places of trust in the government,] a year or two since, that no Christian could speak plainly of the dangers to which his country was exposed, without being charged with the crime of 'mingling religion with politics!'" The late developments show, perhaps, the origin of this accusation; for they plainly exhibit the Rev. Doctor Ely and the Rev. Mr. Campbell, both Presbyterian ministers, seated in full conclave with the President and his cabinet, regulating the very subject of those dangers. Yea, verily some persons would insinuate even that the modern "saints" emulated the freedom of Nathan himself, when he spoke to David! Perchance on that occasion zeal was not tempered with discretion; it might be that there existed neither the cunning of the serpent nor the simplicity of the dove in the venerable calculator upon the future glories of ballot-boxes, either when the ladies and gentlemen of the cabinet waited upon him at Philadelphia, or when, like another Paul, in presence of another Festus, he pleaded his cause before the President in Washington. And it is possible that his visions of present domination were dissipated by the talismanic warning, not to "mingle religion with politics." When what we deem solid glories thus quickly vanish into thin air, it is natural that we should be mortified; he who grasps at what he deems a sceptre, is more than disappointed when he has clutched, and clutched, and yet finds his hand empty. The avowal of the "saints" then is, that they think it necessary that Christians should have the opportunity of speaking of the dangers to which the republic is exposed by Papists and infidels and anti-Christians, without being charged with the crime of "mingling religion with politics." But surely they have that opportunity; neither are they sparing of its use. It is the theme of their declamation by day,

l we may naturally suppose of their dreams by night.
the distorted countenance; mark the dark eye-ball
aming its hidden fire; hear how he thunders from the
k; the spirit is upon him, and he is voluble in his
unciation. The broad Mississippi rolls majestically
ng, and its valley spreads to his view; how he describes
abominations of the man of sin! Some monster has
alled him—he is bewildered—he describes it as a beast
prey ravaging the land. And yet this beast brings
ins and fetters to rivet upon the people! Alas! what
caused this disorder of the imagination? Yet is he
mitted to rave, and he complains of cruel, of impious,
sacrilegious restraint! The compositor is active, the
rector is vigilant, the pressman labors, the press itself
ans. Steam is applied to add to its powers. The
ng and the old—the demure and wrinkled dame,
nd whose lips not even Momus could produce the
roximation to a smile, go forth, together with the
iden in whom beauty and innocence appear blended
l personified, to distribute the productions of this
rtion: stages bear them through the country, the
rches expect them, the prayer meetings desire them,
revivals are anxious to experience their blessed conso-
ons; the city and the field, the ship and the steamboat,
barrack and the brothel are all put in possession of
catalogue of abominations in every variety of shape,
, sermon, story, statement and supply. From all those
ious sources the dollars and the cents are also col-
ed to replenish the coffers of the powerful directors of
grand and extensive system. Yet is the nation
mnly assured that no Christian can speak plainly of
dangers to which the country is exposed! What do
se men desire? Listen to their own complaint:

They [anti-Christians in power] seemed to regard the
e provisions of the Constitution to prevent the estab-
ment of religion by law, as an ordinance to consign the
ld of politics to the dominion of infidelity." No! good
ngelicals; but they very properly looked upon it as an
inance to exclude your dictation. The dominion of the

world of politics was left equally open to the "saint" and the sinner; you had more than your share; but that would not content you. "They seemed to think that they had an exclusive right to reign in the political world." And pray, good "saints," did these infidels and anti-Christians deny the right of any officer who belonged to your body on that account to discharge the duties of his office? Was Senator Frelinghuysen, or Senator Grundy, or President Jackson denied the right of regulating his portion of the government, because he frequented one of the evangelical churches, or sighed for the millennium, or preached, or declaimed, or contributed to your efforts to drive Popery from the valley? No; you dare not make even this insinuation. Of what then do you complain? "When good men spoke or acted with reference to existing evils," "they were charged with intermeddling with politics," "as if they had no interest in transmitting our republican institutions unimpaired to their children." All this is unmeaning. Let us come to some distinct proposition. Of what do you complain? What are the existing evils against which you spoke? "An outcry was raised against the Rev. Dr. Ely, for sentiments which he published relative to the importance of electing men of good principles, who could be trusted, for civil rulers." So we have it out at last. The Evangelicals wished to remedy the existing evils, by commencing on the plan of Rev. Doctor Ely, whose "sentiments no man but an infidel need blush to avow," that none except men of good, that is, evangelical, principles, ought to be trusted in civil offices; that the Papists, such as Mr. Taney, about whom so much noise has been made, and the intemperate, the dissipated, the Sabbath breakers and the gamblers, should be excluded from office. This is then the whole burden of the canting chorus, that the men of God ought to have power to exclude from office those who are not "saints;" and we are threatened with lamentation and wailing and woe, because the government has not violated its obligation by associating as their directors the grand evangelical inquisitors into office.

XII.

I am desirous of closing this series of letters. I have trespassed upon the public's patience and been tedious in exhibiting evidence to prove that of which many have been long since convinced, viz., that the Evangelicals complained that under the pretext of placing men of good principles in civil office, they were not permitted to exclude from all places of public honor, public trust, and public emolument all men who did not belong to their party. Thus they sought to monopolize the stations of government to the exclusion of infidels, of Papists, of the ungodly and of the heterodox. That is, they aim at a practical violation of the Constitution of the United States. The rabid fury with which they assail Roman Catholics is abundant evidence of their disposition. The moment any member of that Church is chosen to any office worth naming, that instant he and his Church are villainously outraged: labored and polished essays and vile and vulgar contumely are flung abroad amongst the public, and Americans are called upon to protect their endangered liberties. These productions are seen in Europe, they are noticed in Catholic nations, and our country is viewed by men of literature and of acquirements in no very flattering way. Yet, what care the Evangelicals for this? Their object is to perpetuate ancient prejudices for their private emolument: and if they succeed, the public may indeed hiss them, but they will applaud themselves. Hence they are reckless of the character of the nation, provided they possess the influence of power, or are able to count a large share of dollars in their stock.

Hitherto they have been defeated in their efforts, and they on that account complain of the men in power. Congress refused to declare that this was a country of any religious denomination, or to assume any power of religious legislation, upon the express plea that they received no such commission. Hence they are to be considered infidels. They declined the honor of being "nurs-

ing fathers of the Church," upon the principle that they were only appointed to be political representatives of the States and of the people. For this they are denominated anti-Christians. By means of petitions, of suggestions, of disquisitions, and various modes of influence, efforts were made to procure the enactment of a law on the basis that the public business should be regulated upon the principle of observing one divine law, as interpreted by one portion of the people—and that portion the evangelical. Should that basis be laid, it would be sufficiently ample to sustain any edifice they might think proper to erect; for if the divine law as interpreted by this division were to be made the rule of legislation in one case, why not in another? Let one precedent be given, and the question would not be, what enactments it would sanction, but to what it would not extend. Congress refused to be influenced, and therefore we find it charged with "Sabbath breaking," and its members with licentiousness. Thus, because the Constitution is not violated, it is said that religion is destroyed. The principle for which Protestantism affected to contend is, that no man should have dominion over the conscience of another, but that every man should be the interpreter of God's law in his own behalf, and that no man should presume to force his interpretation upon another. Yet the practice of those self-styled Protestants is, to endeavor to compel others to submit to their interpretation. If Congress desires to transport the mail, it compels no one to be the carrier. The conditions are known to all, and he who feels them interfere with his notions of religion is not forced to carry it. In like manner no one is compelled to drink whiskey; the distiller may make it if he will, and the grocer may sell it, but no one is compelled to buy or to drink. What would our Evangelicals say if Congress were to enact that no butcher should sell meat to a Catholic on Friday or Saturday, and that if any tavern-keeper furnished it to him he should forfeit his license and be fined? Yet the principle is the same. Congress

has no power to compel the evangelical member to observe one law according to the interpretation of his sect, nor to compel a Catholic to observe another according to the discipline and interpretation of his spiritual authority. Our government therefore very properly declined to interfere; and it has thus called forth the vituperation of the "saints." But though baffled, they will not desist.

What is now their plan? It is in operation. In our country everything is carried by the ballot-box. The "holy ones" saw that although they are at present a minority, yet by perseverance they might become a majority. Dr. Ely in the exultation of his heart proclaimed the mode by which it was to be effected. His brethren denied in a variety of ways that their object was what the doctor developed; yet no one was deceived. The editor of the *Telegraph* now avows that the public understood the doctor correctly, and that no one except an infidel need be ashamed to avow as the doctor did, that by means of Sabbath schools, the rising generation might be so trained up as that in a few years, by concerted action at the ballot-boxes, none but men of good principles, that is, men of the evangelical school, should hold public offices. And is there any question of this being not only a feasible plan, but one in which, if the "saints" can train up the children to their purposes, they must necessarily succeed?

From the remarks which I have previously made, it is clear that the framers of the Constitution neither intended nor felt themselves authorized to make ours a sectarian government; and yet, if the "saints" succeed in their plan, will it not become, to all intents and purposes, sectarian? No; we are told this is impossible, for though there is a concert between those who hold evangelical principles, yet these persons are so divided into sects, that no one of the five or six which compose their aggregate could acquire an ascendency over the others, and in their minor differences we have the guarantee of our liberty. Should any *one of them* arrogate to itself any predomi-

nance, the others would unite against that ambitious division and defeat its unholy purposes. Suppose that such would be the case; I ask, why should the aggregate of those sects be permitted to exclude the great body of their fellow-citizens, whom those elect designate as Papists, drunkards, anti-Christians, rakes, infidels, gamblers and Sabbath breakers? Are not these men American citizens? And why are they to be disfranchised? Is it a crime for them to avail themselves of the Protestant principle, that each individual is to regulate his own religious conduct and belief without being accountable to his fellow-citizens, or liable to any civil or political disability, for his exercise of this right? But we are told that these systems lead, necessarily, to demoralization and to the ruin of our liberties; and that the lovers of liberty and good order should, therefore, discountenance them. The assumption is only an opinion which might be erroneous; and which I believe and know to be so in fact. I am of opinion that the principle of justification by faith, which I take to be characteristic of evangelical Protestantism, is, if carried into practice, more demoralizing and destructive to our freedom, public and personal, than even infidelity. The evangelical Protestant will proclaim this to be a grievous mistake, and would deprecate as tyranny my being permitted to exclude him from office because of my opinion. He would in this be sustained by the spirit of our institutions, by the principles of our Constitution, and by the patriotism of the republic. Shall I not, then, be equally sustained by the same powers in my objection to his being permitted to exclude me, a Roman Catholic, and my fellow-citizens, who, though Christians, are neither evangelicals nor Papists? Shall he be permitted to exclude the Jew, the anti-Christian, the Deist? Would he not have excluded Charles Carroll and Thomas Jefferson?

But he tells us, that he leaves us all in possession of our eligibility, and even of our right of voting, and he asks whether we are warranted to tell him and his associates that they shall be debarred from their right of

voting for those men, whose religious principles and moral conduct they approve. I must, indeed, upon the general principle, concede all that he claims. But what would be said to the Catholics of those sections where they predominate, were they to treat Protestants in this way? What would the "holy men" themselves say, if that to which their conduct and efforts would naturally urge the public were reduced to practice, and that whilst they are a minority, all those against whom they have conspired were to enter into a league of co-operation, and to exclude from office every member of an evangelical Church or society? The "saints" have conspired to act upon this principle against the body of the people; upon what ground could they then complain if their own principle were turned against themselves? The consequence would indeed be unpleasant. We should have religious rancor superadded to our political differences. But will not this consequence arise whether the principle be acted upon by the "saints" or by the sinners? There is no way of avoiding it but by abandoning the principle itself; it is one at open variance with all our republican institutions.

Thus, even though the variety of their sects should appear to give the public security against the usurpation and predominance of any one of the subdivisions of which this "Christian party in politics" is composed; yet their combination promises to elevate the party upon the ruins of American rights, and to produce consequences of the most disastrous character to the country itself.

When it is said that the variety of sects precludes the possibility of usurpation, I am led to consult my experience rather than my imagination. I know many villages, especially in our Southern States, in which, at their origin, the inhabitants were of various Protestant sects, and I may, indeed, say, generally evangelical. Neither the numbers nor the means of the sects warranted the erection of separate churches and the maintenance of different settled pastors; they united their efforts to build a common church, in which the pastors of all would have equal rights.

They went on harmoniously for a time, and each pastor, as he visited, was welcomed to the church; but year after year began to give a greater singleness of character to the trustees; though the church was open to divers preachers, yet he who taught in accord with the great body of the trustees always had a preference, and occasionally a stipend. His services were more frequent; he then became resident, and he appeared statedly in the pulpit; the others, upon their arrival, generally found it thus preoccupied. They could now seldom obtain an opportunity of holding forth, save on some week-day, and not always then. Disgusted, disappointed, and uniformly outvoted, the few dissident trustees resigned. There was on the side of their co-trustees an affectation of regret. Why could not brethren live together in harmony, as from the beginning? The board of trustees was now filled up, and they were, for the first time, all members in accord with the preacher. They who had departed were consoled; they were encouraged to do something for themselves; perhaps fifty or a hundred dollars, together with the promise of a subscription to aid them, was taken as a full compensation for the church which originally belonged to a community of five or six sects, but which now had become the property of one, and that one not always the most numerous of the first owners. I could reckon up several churches whose history is here described, and almost in every instance they have fallen into the hands of one sect, and that the one which has most frequently put forward the fact of the diversity of sects in the evangelical combination as the guarantee for the safety of equal rights and equal powers. . . . I need not make the application. My friends and fellow-citizens have intellects equally strong as he who addresses them, and their conclusion is his. Thus, even if the monopolizing aggregate of five or six sects was to continue with a balance of power between the parties, still would their act be palpable and vile aggression upon the rights of their fellow-citizens; and their present variety of sects is no guarantee against the future

predominance of the most industrious, the most insinuating, the most ambitious, and the most hypocritical.

Let us now see the manner in which the principle of Dr. Ely is to be reduced to practice. The principle is, that by training up the children in Sabbath schools, such an influence can be created upon their minds as will necessarily operate at the ballot-boxes. They are not to be trained up to any special modification of Federalism or Democracy, but they are to be a "Christian party in politics." Their teachers are to be Christians; the lessons, the expositions, the whole system of instruction, is to be under the guidance of a board of "saints." The only principle upon which the voters, as they grow up, are to be united is uniformly to support "Christians," and to oppose profane and ungodly candidates. The "Christian" is not a Papist, is not an infidel, is not an anti-Christian —any man against whom there exists the suspicion of being suspected of anything condemned by the "saints," is one of the ungodly. The board of local directors, and that of general directors, can easily testify for or against the "Christianity" of candidates. But who are to sustain their nominations? The candidate has necessarily some private and some political friends; then add to these the whole host of the children trained up at Sabbath schools, now become men capable of voting, and you see the "Christian party in politics." But observe how industriously the agents are engaged. Thirty-eight thousand dollars were expended last year, in exploring the valley of the Mississippi, merely preparatory to the introduction of their system. One of their collectors told a respectable gentleman in Georgia, who hesitated to subscribe, that the true object was to "destroy the power of Popery" in the great regions of the West, so as to "deprive it of any political influence." Already in successful operation in various other quarters, the grand directors of the scheme saw that the West was not sufficiently organized; taking advantage of the religious feeling of the community, when they *found themselves* foiled in their premature efforts to

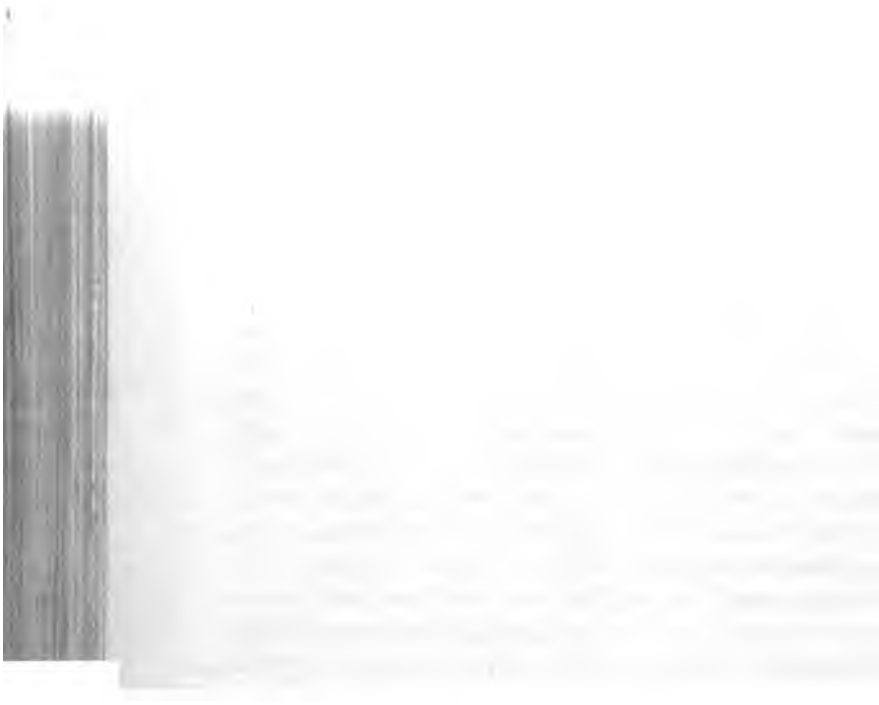
seize upon the capital, they are so far from abandoning their plans that they have only retired to render them more effectual, and now, under the pretext of religion, they organize an extensive politico-religious association. And they are likely to succeed to the extent of their wishes; at least they have every reasonable prospect of success.

The political press has not as yet been fully enlisted in their cause, and of this they piteously complain. Yet already they have in the various sections of the Union, a vast number of their own presses. And the great bulk of the political press is favorable to their Sunday school schemes, their Bible schemes, their missionary schemes, their colonization schemes, their temperance schemes, and their emancipation and education schemes—which are all the various branches of the great "Christian party in politics;" and yet that press is accused, as "it is well known that too many of the conductors of the political press, instead of informing the people, as watchmen ought, of the dangers which threaten the republic, are wholly engaged in promoting the supposed interests of their favorite candidates;" and they add, "It would not be difficult to show by facts, that the evils of this course are incalculable." The object of this party is to procure the election of "men of good principles"—and yet the political press is accused of deserting its post by advocating the election of favorite candidates. How shall we understand this? There is but one explanation. The political press has not yet taken its lessons respecting candidates from the "Christian party in politics." When it shall have done this it will have performed its duty.

I have done with this writer. I am an enemy to intemperance, but I am also an enemy to Pharisaical restraint. I am a friend to the bringing children together for religious instruction on Sunday; but I am an enemy to organizing them into political factions to promote ambition under the guise of piety. I am a friend to the liberal and pious education of a respectable ministry, and to

their being sent to cultivate the desert places of our land; but I am an enemy to training up youth in ferocious hatred to a portion of their fellow-citizens, whose tenets they are taught to misrepresent; and thus unfitted for the work of peace, are sent to brandish swords of devastation and to apply torches of incendiarism. I am a friend to the diffusion of the Gospel; but an enemy to the vilifying of those who preserved it through the vicissitudes of ages, of revolutions, of barbarism, of philosophy, of infidelity, of crime, and of corruption. I am an ardent admirer, a devoted enthusiast, and a sworn friend to the liberties and the constitutions of our American confederation; and therefore I am irreconcilably inimical to every effort whether of fraud or of folly to violate their principles by disfranchising any portion of our citizens under the pretext of their religious mistakes.

I have exhibited the malignity and rancor which pervade the article that called me forth. I have shown how it exhibits the settled design of degrading and disfranchising, not only the Roman Catholics of these United States, but also a vast multitude of their fellow-citizens. I have shown that the "Christian party in politics," not only has not ceased to exist, but is strong, active, compact, powerful, extensive, industrious, prudent, wealthy and ambitious. The means which it has selected have been judiciously chosen, and are likely to insure its predominance. It calls upon the people not only to tax themselves for its support, but also to pray for its success; and like its precursor in England, it is careful whilst they pray to take such steps as will conduce to the efficacy of the appeal. Whilst Aaron and Hur sustain the hands of Moses upon the mountain, the sword of Josue smites powerfully upon the plain. It is for Americans to say whether our civil and religious rights are to share the fate of Amelec.



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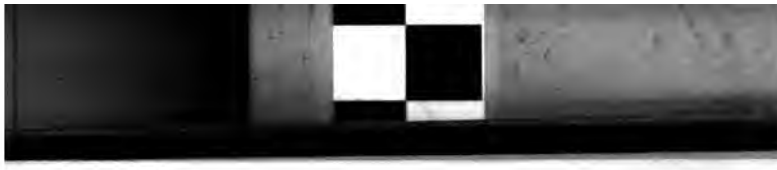

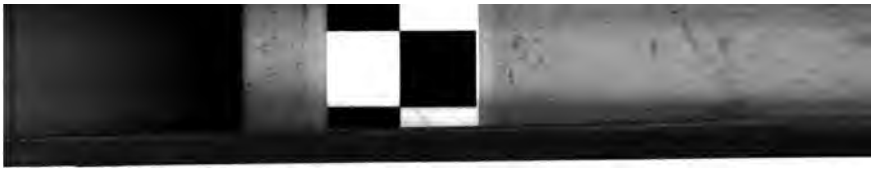

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